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The Portrayal of Pompeian Bacchus

Ilkka Kuivalainen

Societas Scientiarum Fennica

The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

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Preface

Cat. B13 shows the common problem in Pompeii: seated Bacchus has almost completely vanished.

This book is about the portrayal of Bacchus in Pompeii. The topic is much studied, and the ancient texts and works of art are mainly well known. My intention has been to collect the various factors together, not only some examples. This idea came from the need to understand better the wall paintings and sculptures in the House of Marcus Lucretius (IX 3. 5.24). The collecting of data and the writing took a very long time as it was done simultaneously with my teaching of Latin, history and ancient art history. The first version was written already at the Finnish Institute in Rome during the three-month-long course in 2005. It was led by Professor Mika Kajava, who now kindly accepted this new version to be published in the series of Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum. I am especially thankful to Dr, Docent Leena Pietilä-Castrén who assiduously supervised my PhD thesis. My other supervisor, Professor Heikki Solin, helped me especially with the inscriptions. A great privilege has also been that Professor Paavo Castrén took me to the Expeditio Pompeiana Universitas Helsingiensis (EPUH), in order to analyse the wall paintings in the insula IX 3. I owe thanks to him and the other colleagues in the Pompeii project, and to my preliminary examiners who read and commented my original dissertation, especially Professor Arja Karivieri. I would like to thank the staff both in Pompeii (Parco Archeologico di Pompei) and in Naples for their help, especially the library and the archives of the archaeological museum (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli). I also thank all the scholars, archives and libraries who have given me access to rare Pompeian sources and illustrations for this book. Special thanks are again due to Maija Holappa for the layout, and to all my family.

Helsinki, October 2021
Ilkka Kuivalainen

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1. Introduction

Dionysus-Liber-Bacchus was one of the most popular gods in the Graeco-Roman world. In Italy, the domestic god of nature and fertility known as Liber took on the name Bacchus and the features of the Greek god Dionysus at an early stage. The original Dionysus was full of contradictions: gentle but murderous, the giver of wine but also demanding human sacrifices, a saviour from evil death but also the target of emotional religiosity – people in his sphere of influence were known to go into an ecstatic frenzy. Already in Greece, Dionysus was considered to be different from the other Olympian gods because of his many-sided nature; some considered him a mortal hero who had become one of these gods, others thought him to be simply another god among the others. Information about his origin and his birth were likewise conflicting in many ancient sources.[1]

For a long time, Dionysus was considered to be a latecomer among the Greek gods. The origins of his cult were variously thought to be in Thrace, in Phrygia, or in Lydia, from whence he made his appearance in Greek myths only in the Archaic period. This view changed when Linear B tablets were discovered in Bronze Age Pylos and Crete with the name Di-wo-nu-so. On Crete, his cult was probably that of the old Mediterranean god of vegetation. Dionysus had also been worshipped at the site of Agia Irini, on the island of Keos in the Cyclades, since the late Bronze Age. During the Archaic period some old festivals refer to an early official cult; e.g. the *Anthesteria* and *Lenaia* in the Ionian area, Attica, and in the Cyclades, the *Agrigonia* in the Dorian and Aeolic areas, Boeotia, and Thessaly, as well as the *Thuia* in the Peloponnese and Thessaly.[2] The cult of Dionysus was thus a mixture of many elements. The original Cretan god was worshipped with the sacrifice of oxen, and he protected the harvest; it was only later that his sphere became restricted to winemaking and wine. The reawakening of nature and the return of growth after the dry dead period of winter associated Dionysus with Demeter, Persephone (Kore), and the chthonic deities. In the Greek world, the cult of Dionysus was thus rural, mystic, and official and secret at the same time. This was also the case in the Hellenistic period, when the popularity of Dionysus spread abroad and eventually reached Italy.[3]

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1 Bruhl 1953, 1–6; Otto 1965, 113–116; Burkert 1977, 251–252; Pailler 1995, 13–19. In the ancient sources Dionysus could be identified with e.g. Greek Apollon, Sabazios, Helios, Zeus, or Roman Mars, and there were also many local epithets. The identification puzzled Macrobius, *Sat.* 1,18–1,19, as late as the turn of the 4th and 5th century.

2 Walter Otto proposed in 1933, even before the Linear B discovery, that Dionysus was part of the Minoan culture, Otto 1965, xx–xxi, 53; Puhvel 1964, 161–170; Pugliese Carratelli 1965, 34; Burkert 1977, 252–253; Cole 2007, 328–329; R. Duev, 'Zeus and Dionysus in the Light of Linear B Records', *Pasiphae. Rivista di filologia e antichità egee* 1, 2007, 226–228; the name Dionysus appears many times in the Linear B archives, often associated with shepherds.

3 About the origin and plurality of the cult, e.g. Bruhl 1953, 2–5 and 10.

In ancient art, this lengthy development process of the cult resulted in an immense variety in the Dionysiac material. He was abundantly depicted on Greek vases, and was one of the most popular subjects of Hellenistic sculpture, and also of Roman wall paintings, as inspired by Hellenistic art. By the 2nd century AD the Dionysiac afterlife had become a particularly important motif on Roman sarcophagi and mosaics, as burial customs changed.

In Greek literature, Dionysus appeared at first in poetry. He had a minor role in Homer's works, and the Iliad relates how Dionysus was persecuted by Lycurgus, king of Thrace, and fled into the sea to be protected by Thetis. In the Tartaric scene of the Odyssey, Ariadne is said to have been killed by Artemis on account of evidence provided by Dionysus. Dionysus also appears in Hesiod, and other early poems. In drama, he was referred to by the bacchants in several plays. The most important of these was the *Bacchae* of Euripides, which tells about Pentheus, the king of Thebes, rejecting Dionysus. In this tragedy, Euripides described two kinds of maenads, Dionysus' companions and the Theban women who did not acknowledge Dionysus, and therefore had to climb Mount Cithaeron in a fit of madness as their punishment.[4] Dionysus was also discussed in prose works. Herodotus, for example, described his influence on people.[5] Roman literature was influenced by these texts. Accius, for example, wrote his tragedy the *Bacchae*, based on that of Euripides, towards the end of the 2nd century BC. The variety of representations in Greek myths caused writers to describe many different versions of Dionysus. Thus, as early as the first century BC the plurality of Dionysus' various aspects was understood as problematic.[6]

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[4] Burkert 1977, 254–255; Cole 2007, 328–331; Hom. *Il.* 6,130–141; Hom. *Od.* 11,320–325 does not reveal why Dionysus made Artemis kill Ariadne. Another reference to Dionysus is in the Odyssey: he is said to have presented Thetis with a golden amphora made by Hephaistos containing the ashes of Achilles, *Od.* 24,73–75; Euripides' *Bakkhai* was performed posthumously in 405 BC. It depicts Dionysus avenging his mother Semele's death. King Pentheus, opposing Dionysus, is killed by his own mother Agave, who was following Dionysus' orders, Eur. *Bacch.* 1044–1148; based on Euripides, Dionysus' cult is assumed to have been practised by women at the time, for which S. des Bouvrie's 'Euripides, *Bakkhai* and Maenadism' in *Aspects of Women in Antiquity. Proceedings of the First Nordic Symposium on Women's Lives in Antiquity, Göteborg 12–15 June 1997*, 58–68, (Jonsered 1998).

[5] Herodotus 2,49, suggested that the cult of Dionysus was of Egyptian origin; Melampous was believed to have introduced the sacrifice to Dionysus and the carrying of the phallus in a procession. Herodotus, however, believed that most Greek gods' names and personalities were of Egyptian origin, e.g. Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge 2000). Other authors claimed that Orpheus started the Dionysiac mysteries, which, according to Diodorus Siculus, 1,23, were based on the cult of Osiris.

[6] Zeus was generally believed to be Dionysus' father, but accounts of his mothers and birth places were varied. As a result, Diodorus, 3,62–64, considered determining Dionysus' origins difficult: there was a non-anthropomorphic "wine Dionysus" and three other aspects with human bodies. Cicero, *nat.deor.* 3,58, counted five different Dionysi, for his part. See Chapter 3 section *Liber* in this study.

All the different Dionysi, Liberi, and Bacchi go back to several different periods and places of the Graeco-Roman world. The cult originated in the Bronze Age, but was very much alive in Late Antiquity. In Campania, many of these influences converged, and in Romanized Pompeii of the first century BC the old Italic tradition merged with the koine atmosphere of the Hellenistic culture. In religious life, Dionysus-Liber-Bacchus was manifested in various ways, and his popularity was emphasized by his wide role in literature and in visual arts, of which this study concentrates on wall paintings and sculpture. Examples of minor arts are also included.

Earlier Research

Owing to the god's complexity, the research literature on Dionysus-Liber-Bacchus is very extensive. It is presented below under respective headings, according to the main field of study. The first and largest group consists of studies of ancient religion, in which the relationship between the Greek and Roman cults have been of particular interest, in addition to the controversy over the Bacchanals. The second group covers the previous research on art and culture, in which the iconography of Liber-Bacchus has been treated only on a general level. The third group, partly linked with the previous one, is the most important one, consisting of studies in Pompeian local history, while also shedding light on the art and inscriptions from the town. In addition to these aspects, the subject has naturally been dealt with in literary studies.[7] From the viewpoint of my own study, the general development of all the aforementioned aspects is relevant because the portrayal of the Pompeian Bacchus must have been influenced by all of them to some degree. It is also essential to examine the choice of names for the divinity that are used by different modern scholars, as this also affects the names used in my research. The following overview intends to give a broad picture of the tradition of Pompeian research literature. Each part is also treated in more detail under their respective chapters.

Religious History

In the study of the Dionysiac cult, certain main avenues of approach can be observed. On the Greek side, the Dionysiac associations, the role of women, and theatrical plays have been the focus. The study of these topics has been associated with archaeologi-

[7] This study does not focus on accounts of Dionysus in the ancient literature, in which some researchers have concentrated solely on Euripides' *Bacchants*, e.g. Reginald Pepys Winnington-Ingram, *Euripides and Dionysus. An Interpretation of the Bacchae* (Cambridge 1948), and Charles Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton 1982).

cal and art historical material, the emphasis having been on vase painting, but also including coins and sculpture.[8] As to the nature of the cult, its continuity from the earliest times to the end of the Roman era has been of interest. Suffice it to mention here Henri Jeanmaire's work *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (1951).[9] Walter F. Otto, Karl Kerényi, and Richard Reitzenstein, Franz Cumont, Martin P. Nilsson, and Walter Burkert, for their part, all wrote about the mysteries. The main conclusion is that the cult of Dionysus was continuously evolving, a process in which the Hellenistic and Roman phases merged to form a single entity.[10] More recent research has combined various branches of study, including wider geographical areas, such as the set of articles in *Masks of Dionysus* (1993) which involve religion, art, and literature. In Magna Graecia, the expansion of the cult of Dionysus and its changes over time, as the result of cultural encounters, have been studied by Giovanni Casadio in several articles: e.g. 'Dioniso italiota: un dio greco in Italia meridionale' (1995) and 'Dionysus in Campania: Cumae' (2009). Outside the Greek world, Dionysos' appearance in Etruria has also been explored. Furthermore, several exhibitions on Dionysos, especially in 2008–2011, have produced up-to-date publications.[11]

On the Roman side, the relationship between the old Roman Liber and the imported Greek Dionysus has been the focus of research. Georg Wissowa counted Liber, Ceres, and Libera as imported Greek gods,[12] while Adam Schnegelsberg in his somewhat earlier *De Liberi apud Romanos cultu capita duo* saw Liber as a domestic god

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8 A conference on these associations, held in Rome in 1984, resulted in a collection of articles: *L'Association dionysiaque dans les societétés anciennes* (Rome 1986). Anne-Françoise Jaccottet studied inscriptions in *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cache du dionysisme* (Kilchberg 2003). For women's role, W.F. Otto 1965, 54, 83–85, 94, 171–180. On Orphism, Alberto Bernabé and Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal in *Instructions for the Netherworld. The Orphic Gold Tablets* (Leiden 2008). Thomas H. Carpenter discussed the depiction of Dionysus on over 4000 vase paintings, both in the late archaic and classical eras, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford 1997).

9 Jeanmaire's research reaches all the way up to his own time, as he compares the discussion of the "divine mania" of the ancient world to 20th century medicine, and provides scientific religious comparisons from late 19th and early 20th century North Africa and the Arabian peninsula, Jeanmaire 1951, 105–131.

10 Otto: *Dionysos. Mythos und Kultus* (Frankfurt am Main 1933); Kerényi: *Der frühe Dionysos* (Oslo 1961); Reitzenstein: *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig 1927^3); Cumont: *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (Paris 1929^3) and *Lux perpetua* (Paris 1949); Nilsson: 'The Bacchic Mysteries of the Roman Age', *Harvard Theological Review* 46 (1953) 175–202 and *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund 1957); Burkert: *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987).

11 *Dionysos – Verwandlung und Ekstase*, Berlin 2008, *La vigna di Dioniso. Vite, vino e culti in Magna Grecia* (Taranto 2010), and *Vinum nostrum. Arte, scienza e miti del vino nella civiltà del Mediterraneo antico* (Firenze 2010).

12 Wissowa 1902,"Di novensides griechischer Herkunft 46. Ceres, Liber un Libera", 242–248.

(1894).[13] Franz Altheim's study *Terra mater. Untersuchungen zur altitalischen Religionsgeschichte* (1931), which is a sequel to *Griechische Götter im alten Rom*, has an extensive presentation of Liber and Libera and a separate section called "Oscilla" with references to Dionysiac art.[14] Adrien Bruhl covered Roman Liber and Greek Dionysus from different points of view, in different periods, and over the whole of the Roman Empire in his study *Liber Pater. Origine et expansion du culte dionysiaque à Rome et dans le monde romain* (1953); both art and cult in Pompeii are treated. Stéphanie Wyler's *Les perceptions du dionysisme dans la Rome républicaine depuis la deuxième guerre punique jusqu'à Auguste: Étude littéraire et iconographique* (2006) discusses both the origin and the development of the cult of Liber in Rome and Italy, then in Pompeii, and including literature. Robert Turcan, in several publications, e.g. *Liturgies de l'initiation bacchique à l'époque romaine (Liber)* (2003), and Jean-Marie Pailler, have studied relevant aspects of the Roman world. Pailler's *Bacchus. Figures et pouvoirs* (1995) addresses the routes and encounters of Dionysus-Bacchus with other gods and his companions in Italy.

Carina Håkansson has studied the archaic cult of Liber, especially satyrs and performances, in her *In Search of Dionysus. Reassessing a Dionysian Context in Early Rome* (2010); the Roman Bacchus of Greek origin can be discerned only during the Bacchanal crisis.[15] Peter Wiseman concentrated on the republican Liber in his article "Liber. Myth, Drama and Ideology in Republican Rome" (2000); he explores the various aspects of the name Liber, relating it to both ideology and iconography, especially in bronze objects.[16]

The Bacchanals, as an important event in Roman religious history, have produced an extensive field of study, with the main question being the relationship between the domestic and imported elements. Its aspect as a political crisis has also produced a considerable amount of research. For my study, the most important point is the place of origin of the Bacchanals. Pailler's *Bacchanalia. La répression de 186 av. J.-C. à Rome et en Italie: vestiges, images, tradition* (1988) deals merely with the restrictions of the year 186 BC, analysing the ancient sources and the participants of the cult. He assembled the previous research and made additions to his former study in 1998.[17] John Briscoe

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[13] Schnegelsberg 1894, 4, 27–32, 39–47. The first part discusses the 180 graffiti known at that time, in which Liber or some other name referring to Liber is given. The second part analyses the origin and change of Liber, as well as his mystery cult.

[14] *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 22 (1930–1931), 15–48, 65–84.

[15] Håkansson 2010, 69, 72–73.

[16] Wiseman 2000, 266–273, 289.

[17] Pailler, 'Les Bacchanales dix ans après', *Pallas*, 48 (1998), 67–86. According to him, before 1914 the subject was approached from a legal-administrative viewpoint, especially by Theodor Mommsen, Pailler 1988, 61–66. The first study to focus only on the Bacchanalia scandal was T.V. Spinelli's *La decadenza religiosa e la repressione dei Baccanali a Roma* (Naples 1907). As the name of the study already suggests, it proposed that the decay of Rome followed the influences spreading from the east in the 2nd century BC. Spinelli 1907, 16–26, discusses Italic Liber and his relationship with Greek Dionysus and Indian Soma. The next phase of

also referred to the ancient sources in his commentary on Livy's books 38–40.[18] As a background to the more recent interpretations, the religious tolerance of the Romans is particularly emphasized; an important exception having been, however, the prohibition of the Bacchanals. During the Republic, the Senate forbade many religious trends as unacceptable, but usually restrained from persecuting citizens for following them.[19] The Bacchanals have also been studied as a statement of women's religious activities.[20] The influence of the prohibition is important in the Pompeian context, as it crystallizes what was actually prohibited and what was allowed in its place.

The Cult in Pompeii

The cult of Liber-Bacchus in Campania has not yet been deeply researched, although many publications refer to it.[21] To some extent, it has been treated by Adrien Bruhl,

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the research was in the 1930s, according to Pailler, exploring the Bacchanalia scandal through the eyes of the eastern religions. The most remarkable researchers of the time were the aforementioned Reitzenstein and Cumont; their school was prevalent until the 1950s, Pailler 1988, 70–73. Pailler considered Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Franz Altheim and Tenney Frank to represent a parallel approach to this school, by emphasizing the role of Hellenistic southern Italy. The 1930s saw a long academic debate on the relationship between the inscription and Livy's texts, as well as the reliability of his information, e.g. E. Fraenkel, J. Keil, W. Krause and Matthias Gelzer from the German-speaking area. The 1940s saw a variety of views. The religious background was emphasized, as was the relationship between southern Italy and Rome. 1949–1960 was the era of syntheses, presented by Jeanmaire, who saw Dionysus' advent as a result of the spreading of Hellenistic ideas, and Bruhl, who emphasized the role of Etruria and Campania; their analyses were mostly based on religion, as was Nilsson's. According to Pailler 1988, 77–100, some scholars concentrated more on the scandal itself, and the sources touching it, e.g. G.Tarditi, 'La questione dei Baccanali a Roma nel 186 a.C,' *PP* 9 (1954) 265–287, and D. W. L. Van Son's' dissertation *Livius' behandeling van de Bacchanalia* (Amsterdam 1960). In 1970 Clara Gallini presented new views revolutionizing the research, with her idea of Dionysus' cult of politically and socially neglected groups, having little in common with the elite, and their tradition of cherishing forefathers. She left, however, many aspects of Livy unremarked upon, as they did not fit with her main idea, Pailler 1988, 101–107, describing both Gallinis' thoughts and Turcan's criticism of them.

18 Briscoe 2008, 230–231.

19 Pailler 1988, 111–113; J.A. North 1979, 85–86, has listed several decisions made by the Senate to ban religious practices, such as the prohibition of human sacrifices in 97 BC. In Rome one could choose one's favourite god, but a new cult should not differ from old religious customs.

20 Hänninen 1998, 111–126.

21 Campanian religious research is represented by Karl Beloch's *Campanien. Geschichte und Topographie des antiken Neapel und seiner Umgebung*, (Berlin 1879 and Breslau 1890^2), and Roy Merle Peterson's *The Cults of Campania*, PAAR 1 (1919). A more recent study is Paolo Carafa's *Culti e santuari della Campania antica* (Rome 2008), but without a discussion of Pompeii.

already mentioned above, and Stéphanie Wyler. The latter examined the relationship between the cult of Dionysus and religion and art, as well as the pictorial images of Pompeian houses from the point of view of society. Of her many articles, particular mention should be made of '"Dionysos domesticus": Les motifs dionysiaques dans les maisons pompéiennes et romaines (IIe s. av. – Ier s. ap. J.-C.)' (2004) and 'Programmi dionisiaci nelle case pompeiane come riflesso della società' (2006).[22] According to Wyler, the role of Dionysiac art was emphasized in homes, but it was rare in public places. The change of imagery in Pompeii from the Samnite period to the eruption of Vesuvius reflects a change in social values.[23] Both articles are based on a limited number of Pompeian examples.

Many studies on Pompeian religious life cover only a selection of the archaeological material, even though much has been published on the religious history of Campania and Pompeii, especially on Pompeian temples and other cult areas. For example, Michael Rostovtzeff's *Mystic Italy* (1927) also deals with the mystical sphere in Pompeii, particularly with Villa dei Misteri and house I 6,2 (Casa del Criptoportico).[24] In his article "Sacrari pompeiani" (1950), Francesco di Capua categorized various private sanctuaries; he used as his criteria the terms *sacraria* and s*acella*, even if they mostly referred to small public sanctuaries or the cult sites out-of-doors.[25] The cult of Isis, other oriental cults, and the Pompeian religious customs have, for their part, been researched by V. Tran Tam Tinh.[26] In the Vesuvian area, the domestic shrines and small sanctuaries have been studied by Maddalena Bassani; in her catalogue there are only four spaces associated with Dionysus, three in Pompeii and one in Stabiae.[27] George S. Boyce's *Corpus of the Lararia of Pompeii* (1937) is an extensive catalogue,[28] but even more detailed is Thomas Fröhlich's *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten. Untersuchungen zur "volkstümlichen" pompejanischen Malerei* (1991).[29] The statuettes in lararia are described in Stefania Adamo-Muscettola's article "Osservazioni sulla compositione dei

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22 *MEFRA* 116, 2 (2004) 933–951 and *Ostraka* 15, 1 (2006) 155–163.

23 Wyler 2004, 933–934; *eadem* 2006b, 162.

24 Rostovtzeff 1927 also gives another example, house I 6, 4, and its decoration, p. 55–92. His discussion of Pompeii covers almost one half of the work (pp. 27–98); he stated that Pompeii was a town with a permanent home for Dionysus-related mysteries, where every educated person knew the meaning of the iconography of the mystery, p. 40; Pailler 1988, 75 criticizes Rostovtzeff's pictoral sources as being much later than the bacchanalian ban.

25 Di Capua 1950, 60–61, 76–81.

26 E.g. *Essai sur Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris 1964), and 'La Vita religiosa' in *Pompei 79*.

27 Bassani 2008, 86–87.

28 MAAR 14 (1937).

29 *MDAI(R),* Ergänzungsheft 32 (Mainz 1991).

larari con statuette in bronzo di Pompei e Ercolano" (1984).[30] Another specific study is Annemari Kaufmann-Heinimann's article "Statuettes de laraire et religion domestique a Pompéi" (2007),[31] but that is mainly based on her broader book *Götter und Lararien aus Augusta Raurica. Herstellung, Fundzusammenhänge und sakrale Funktion figürlicher Bronzen in einer römischen Stadt* (1998), which also has a good systematic section about Pompeian finds.[32] Federica Giacobello's *Larari pompeiani. Iconografia e culto dei lari in ambito domestico* (2008) refers briefly to the role of Dionysus in homes.[33]

Anna Krzyszowska's *Les Cultes privés à Pompéi* does not only deal with private cults; she has studied, in addition to lararia, other private or at least half-private cult sites at crossroads and temples.[34] Antonio Virgili's *Culti misterici ed orientali a Pompei* (2008) also expands its scope to the sphere of religious life outside Pompeii; the study is, however, of a general nature and most of it consists of a glossary.[35] Maria Teresa D'Alessio's *I culti a Pompei. Divinità, luoghi e frequentatori (VI secolo a.C. – 79 d.C.)* (2009) deals with cults within the town walls and those nearby; she differentiates the public cult of Dionysus-Bacchus and Liber, and claims that Liber only appears in one inscription, *CIL* IV 1626.[36] William van Andringa's *Quotidien des dieux et des hommes. La vie religieuse dans les cités du Vésuve à l'époque romaine* (2009) deals exclusively with the Roman period, but the content is much wider, including official cults and private religious life in all its aspects.[37]

The temple discovered near the locality of Sant'Abbondio has been abundantly studied. Olga Elia was the first to publish a wider report (1965).[38] Markus Wolf presented detailed architectural information in his article 'Der Tempel von Sant' Abbondio in Pompeji. Bauaufnahme und Architektur' (2007), and Ruth Bielfeldt left open the

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30 *Toreutik und figürliche Bronzen römischer Zeit. Akten der 6. Tagung über antike Bronzen 13.–17. Mai 1980 in Berlin.*

31 *Studi SAP* 21 (2007) 151–157. When it comes to the statuettes in the lararia,"divinités bacchiques" form only a very small part; 97 statuettes of gods were studied, and only five of them were connected with Bacchus. The most favoured single divinities after the lares (25) themselves were Mercury (13), Venus (10), and Minerva (8).

32 Augst 1998.

33 Università degli Studi di Milano, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia 251 (Milan 2008), 75–76.

34 She does not systematically list the paintings in which Dionysus-Bacchus appears, but discusses the topic with the help of selected examples, Krzyszowska 2002, 101–120, 202–205 and 252–254.

35 The study discusses oriental and mystery cults in the Mediterranean area and the religious life of Campania.

36 D'Alessio 2009, 105, 107.

37 BEFAR 337 (Rome 2009).

38 Elia's publications are discussed in Chapter 5 of this study.

difference between the cults of Italic Liber of the vineyards and Greek Dionysus in private houses in her article 'Der Liber-Tempel in Pompeji in Sant'Abbondio. Oskisches Vorstadtheiligtum und kaiserzeitliches Kultlokal' (2007), though she stated that the restructuring of the temple was caused by the change of worshippers.[39] William van Andringa directed the field work on the site in 2008, followed by publications by several authors 'Archéologie et religion: le sanctuaire dionysiaque de S. Abbondio à Pompéi' (2013).[40]

Iconography, Wall Paintings, Mosaics and Sculpture

There are several iconographic classifications of the mythological image of Bacchus. The most systematic is to be found in the third volume of the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (*LIMC*, 1986), which contains the articles "Dionysos", "Dionysos/Fufluns" and "Dionysos/Bacchus". To this classification of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman material are added articles on provincial types of Dionysus in the Empire. The 2009 *LIMC* supplement contains some new information on the iconographical types of Dionysus.[41] Of the older research, the significant work of Friedrich Matz and his extensive Διονυσιακή τελέτη. *Archäologische Untersuchungen zum Dionysoskult in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit* (1963) should be mentioned; it is a wide treatise on the initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries, the oracle, and sacrificial themes, cult images, herms, and sarcophagi. He also covered myths about Dionysus' childhood.[42] Erwin Pochmarski's more recent *Dionysische Gruppen. Eine typologische Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Stützmotives* (1990) collected the works of various arts in which Dionysus physically leans on either his own companion or on another divinity; the supporting figure is often a satyr, Silenus, a Maenad, Ariadne, Hephaistos, or Hercules.[43] Many researchers have restricted themselves to certain Dionysiac themes, and several have concentrated on sculptures, using wall paintings or artefacts as comparative material. In the research on Roman wall paintings, Pompeii and other Vesuvian sites form the largest source group, and are essential for any study of motifs.

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39 Wolf and Bielfeldt *MDAI(R)* 113 (2007).

40 *MEFRA* 125 (2013) 5–74.

41 Several articles of the *LIMC* appear in the iconographic Chapter 6 of this study.

42 In addition to Matz's Διονυσιακή τελέτη, his main work is *Die dionysischen Sarkophage (*Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs 4, Berlin 1968–1974). Another significant work on the sarcophagi is Turcan's *Les Sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques. Essai de chronologie et d'histoire religieuse,* BEFAR 210 (Paris 1966). He also uses other material from Pompeii, such as the pediment of the temple and wall paintings, many depicting Bacchus, Turcan 1966, 219, 407 and 456–457.

43 His study starts from the year 500 BC and continues up to the 5th century AD; he included eight wall paintings from Pompeii.

The most important collective work on Pompeian wall paintings, to which a large number of authors have contributed, is *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici* (*PPM*, 1990–2003), in which the pictures listed in *Pitture e Pavimenti di Pompei. Repertorio delle fotografie del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale* (1981–1986, 1992) have been published. The *PPM* series refers also to earlier documentation, such as many either topically or topographically listed documentations and excavation reports. Both Wofgang Helbig's *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (1868) and Antonio Sogliano's supplementary 'Le Pitture Murali Campane Scoverte negli Anni 1867–1879' (1879) are organized according to subject. The most important topographical reference book of the motifs is Karl Schefold's *Die Wände Pompejis. Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive* (1957). However, no complete publication of the wall paintings, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN), exists. That is why the best source for that material is the museum's file of photographs.[44]

The categorization of Roman wall paintings into Pompeian styles was first made by August Mau in 1882,[45] and has been thereafter revised by many scholars.[46] The proper corpus of the first style paintings in Pompeian houses was made by Anne Laidlaw.[47] The second style catalogue was compiled by Ernst Heinrich,[48] the third style was researched

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[44] The most important published catalogues on wall paintings are A. Ruesch's (ed.) *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples 1908) and Olga Elia's *Pitture murali e mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome 1932) and Irene Bragantini and Valeria Sampaolo's (ed.) *La pittura pompeiana* (Museo archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples 2009.). Other works also include many paintings. Ruesch's guide book was used to replace the complicated and problematic numbering system of the museum. Marilena Griesi has dealt with paintings depicting Dionysus and his companions brought to the museum from Herculaneum, see 'Immagini dionisiache' in *DHER Domus Herculanensis Rationes. Sito Archivio Museo* (Studi e Scavi nuova serie 30, Bologna 2011), 243–264.

[45] *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (Berlin 1882) dealt with the first three styles. The fourth was presented only briefly at the end of the book (448–456), as the last decadent Pompeian style.

[46] E.g. H.G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil* (Haag, 1960); Heide Lauter-Bufe, *Zur Stilgeschichte der figürlichen pompejanischen Fresken* (Erlangen 1969); Alix Barbet, *La peinture murale romaine. Les styles décoratifs pompéiens* (Paris 1985, revised in 2009); A large review was written by Eric. M. Moormann, 'Una rilettura dei quattro stili pompeiani', *BABesch* 62 (1987), 153–165; Wolfgang Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros* (Mainz am Rhein 1987); Renate Thomas, *Die Dekorationssysteme der römischen Wandmalerei von augusteischer bis in trajanische Zeit* (Mainz 1995).

[47] *The first style in Pompeii. Painting and architecture* (*Archaeologica* 57), Rome 1985. The architectural style does not, naturally, have any pictures representing Bacchus.

[48] *Der zweite Stil in pompejanischen Wohnhäusern* (Studien zur antiken Malerei und Farbgebung 8), Munich 2002. The style is quite rare in Pompeian houses, being only more elaborate in the largest houses. There are some Bacchic elements, however, e.g. satyrs supporting the consoles in exedra of the Caserma dei gladiatori V 5,3. Heinrichs 2002, 95 (no. 35); the Villa dei Misteri, as a villa outside the town, is not included.

by F.L. Bastet and M. Vos,[49] and there are several studies on the fourth style.[50] The original division into the four Pompeian styles is still useful, keeping in mind the subsequent problems; some later works were imitations of earlier paintings, some Pompeian houses had features of several styles, and earlier style paintings were also often restored at a later date.[51] E.M. Moormann studied the images of statues in wall paintings.[52]

Many scholars have concentrated on the large central pictures, such as Lucia Romizzi with her *Programmi decorativi di III e IV stile a Pompei. Un'analisi sociologica ed iconologica* (2006), Jürgen Hodske with *Mythologische Bildthemen in den Häusern Pompejis. Die Bedeutung der zentralen Mythenbilder für die Bewohner Pompejis* (2007), and Katharina Lorenz with *Bilder machen Räume. Mythenbilder in pompeianischen Häusern* (2008).[53] According to Romizzi, Dionysus is the protagonist in 26 paintings (two of which represent Dionysus and Ariadne), and in 20 more paintings Dionysus is depicted as discovering Ariadne.[54] Hodske's catalogue consists of 26 central pictures

[49] *Proposta per una classificazione del terzo stile pompeiano* (Archeologische studiën van het Nederlands instituut te Rome 4, 's-Gravenhage 1979).

[50] E.g. W.J.T. Peters, 'La composizione delle pitture parietali di IV stile a Roma e in Campania´ in *La regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio. Studi e prospettive. Atti del Convegno internazionale 11–15 novembre 1979*, (Naples 1982), 635–659; W.C. Archer, 'The Paintings in the Alae of the Casa dei Vettii and a Definition of the Fourth Pompeian Style' *AJA* 94 (1990), 95–123.

[51] E.g. Renate Thomas, 'Zur Chronologie des 3. und 4. Stils', *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 24 (1991), 153–158 and 'Zum Stilpluralismus in der römischen Wandmalerei seit claudischer Zeit', *in Functional and spatial analysis of wall painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam 8-12 September 1992*, (Leiden 1993), 154–159; W. Ehrhardt, 'Beseitigung und Restaurierung von Wanddekorationen: oder wie verhalten sich die späteren zu den vorausgegangenen Pompejanischen Stilen?', in *I Temi Figurativi nella Pittura Parietale Antica. Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale sulla Pittura Parietale Antica, Bologna 20–23 settembre 1995*, (Bologna 1997), 55–58 and *Dekorations- und Wohnkontext. Beseitigung, Restaurierung, Verschmelzung und Konservierung von Wandbemalungen in den kampanischen Antikenstätten*, (Wiesbaden 2012). A summary is done by W. Strocka, *EAA* Suppl. 2 IV 1971–1994, 'Pompeiani, Stili' (Rome 1996), 414–425.

[52] According to Moormann 1988, 13–35 many figures in the Second style show the influence of sculpture, but in the Third the influence was more limited being frequent in the upper zone, e.g. in the Villa Imperiale (my G6). In the Fourth Style there are statues depicting Bacchus in several zones, e.g. A6, A9, B6, but many in the upper zone as parts of the scaenae frontes.

[53] Lorenz continued this in *Ancient mythological images and their interpretation: an introduction to iconology, semiotics and image studies in classical art history*, Cambridge 2016, where she shows the problems of iconological analysis and combines it with semiotics and image studies in classical art history.

[54] Romizzi's main questions deal with the third and fourth Pompeian styles. She would include five representations of Dionysus appearing either alone or with a thiasus, one Dionysiac appearance to Ariadne, and one thiasus without Dionysus in the third style. The corresponding numbers for the fourth style were 19, 18, and 12. Additionally, hermaphroditic subjects could be combined with Dionysus, as could satyrs and maenads, Romizzi 2006, 100–101, 177–178.

with Dionysus and Ariadne, and 16 with other companions, but there are some paintings included in these totals which are probably not from Pompeii.[55] Lorenz listed 17 paintings in which Dionysus appeared to Ariadne and three more in which they are both active.[56] Ariadne has also been treated separately, though mainly in the context of having been abandoned by Theseus.[57] Stéphanie Wyler has dealt with Dionysiac wall paintings in several works, including those of the Villa dei Misteri, one of the favorite topics in the research of wall paintings.[58] Marianna Scapini has also written about Dionysiac iconography.[59]

The megalographic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri 's room 5 has been the main point of interest, with some researchers supporting a cultic interpretation, while others have seen it merely as decorative, or even as a theatrical scene.[60] The idea that it represented a Dionysiac initiation was presented as early as 1910, when G. de Petra published the discovery.[61] In his handbook *Roman Painting* (1991), Roger Ling writes that the more

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55 Hodske 2007, 159–165 and Tabelle 3.

56 In addition to Ariadne and Dionysus, Lorenz 2008, 108–120, discussed cases in which Ariadne was depicted in a reclining position without Dionysus.

57 See Franca Parise Badoni, 'Arianna a Nasso: La rielaboriazione di un mito greco in ambiente romano', *DialA* 8 (1990) 73–89 and Anna Gallo, 'Le pitture rappresentanti Arianna abbandonata in ambiente pompeiano', *RSP* 2 (1988) 57–80.

58 'Des images dionysiaques aux limites du religieux: le *cubiculum* 4 de la villa des Mystères', in *Image et religion dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine* (Naples 2008), 449–459. The presentation on room 4 in Villa dei Misteri was given in a colloquium in Rome in 2003. Villa dei Misteri played a major role in Wyler's thesis (Wyler 2006a). – Originally it was called Villa Item according to the finder Aurelio Item, or by its location Villa Gargiulo, and nowadays Villa degli Istacidii because of the inscriptions found there.

59 E.g. 'Augustus and Dionysus's triumph: A Nonexistent Paradox, *Acta Ant. Hung* 55 (2015), 185–209, and 'Iconographic Aspects of the Winged Demon of the *Villa dei Misteri*', *Phasis* 15–16 (2012–2013), 481–492; Scapini's main work is Le stanze di Dioniso. Contenuti rituali e committenti delle scene dionisiache domestiche tra Roma e Pompei (ARYS. Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades 6), Madrid 2016. I that she analyses the sociological and Hellenistic aspects of Dionysiac wall paintings. She has a good introduction to the recent studies of Dionysiac images as important parts of Roman houses. Her main examples in Pompeii are Casa del Criptoportico, Casa dei Cubicoli Floreali, Casa del Citarista, Casa dei Ceii, Casa di D. Octavius Quartio/Loreius Tiburtinus, Casa dei Capitelli Colorati, Casa dei Capitelli Figurati, Casa dei Vettii, Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto, Casa di M. Lucretius and Villa dei Misteri. Her expression for ideology in Dionysiac rooms is 'una religiosità filodionisiaca'. The models were Hellenistic, many came from Alexandria. Scapini 2016, 329–331.

60 On the research tradition, see e.g. Baldwin 1996, 1–12.

61 'Villa romana presso Pompei', *NSA* 1910 (ser. 5 vol. 7) 139–145. The rooms with significant paintings, 4 and 5, were originally numbered 16 and 20. For the woman being flogged, de Petra refers to Vittorio Macchioro's idea of a parallel between it and Pausanias' story. In Arcadia at Alea was a temple of Dionysus, and women were flogged following the instructions of the oracle of Delphi in a feast called Skiereia that was organised every second year, Paus. 8,23, 1; de Petra 1910, 142–145.

exact interpretation of the occurrences on the frieze of room 5 remains uncertain, due to the lack of any precise information about the secret rites of Dionysus. In his opinion, the painting was neither mythological nor historical; rather, it depicts generic mythical figures associated with the cult of Dionysus. Several models were used for details, but the whole painting was probably composed for this specific room.[62] Many scholars have viewed the large opening towards the terrace as unsuitable for secret rites. John Clarke stated in his book *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C.–A.D. 250. Ritual, Space and Decoration* (1991) that the secret rites were so secret that no proper literary description has survived to this day. He rejects the initiation theory, believing instead that the question is rather of a partially public act, or some festive rite connected with Dionysus.[63] As early as in 1974 F.L. Bastet interpreted the scene as a pantomime.[64] Consequently, Ling and Clarke are of the same opinion about the originality of the composition, that it could not have been a description of a secret rite. The scholarly opinions have sometimes been narrow and even based on modern psychology.[65] Michelle Baldwin stated in her study *Myth in the Dionysiac Frieze in Pompeii's Villa of the Mysteries* (1996) that the frieze is more likely based on a myth than a cult, emphasizing the role of women.[66] Consequently, Paul Veyne saw it as a scene of γυναικεῖα, connecting it with a profane marriage to which the mythical figure of Dionysus brought good luck.[67] A debate between possible religious and profane meanings continued in France at the turn of the century. Gilles Sauron wrote several articles already in the 1980's, and returned to the topic in his *La grande fresque de la villa des Mystères á Pompéi. Mémoires d'une dévote de Dionysos*

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62 Ling 1991, 101–104. Ling discusses friezes in 'Mythological and historical paintings'.

63 Clarke 1991, 104–105.

64 Bastet 1979, 207–240.

65 Linda Fierz-David discussed women's initiation into the mystery cult with the help of psychological concepts in her posthumous work in 1957. She suggested that life and death are united in Dionysus, as are all the forms of flora and fauna of all ages, water, fire, and even air, men and women, sense and soul. She used Carl Jung's psychological archetype of "self", in which a person has a wide understanding of his psyche. The relationship with Ariadne represents aspects of masculinity and femininity, deity and humanity. Here, Ariadne represents a process in which "self" is gained. Ariadne, abandoned on the shores of Naxos, wants to die. She becomes divinely alive. Her femininity unites with masculinity (*conjunctio*), in which case the "self" is perfect. Fierz-David suggested the dark-winged female figure represented the feminine aspect of Dionysus, thus referring to the "spirit" by the term *pneuma*. This would show the women taking part in the initiation that a feminine prototype was leading the way. By following this figure, the would-be initiate would reach her own "Naxos", like Ariadne. In the painting, the initiated woman ends up in the care of the priestess. At the end, the serene atmosphere describes the women's life after the initiation, which is both ordinary and interesting. Fierz-David 1988, 15, 18–26, 30, 97, 99–101, 116, 129–131, 136–141.

66 Baldwin 1996, 12, 156–159.

67 Veyne 1998, 15–153.

(1998).[68] Jean-Marie Pailler also took part in the discussion,[69] and Sauron returned once more to the topic in his *Dans l'intimité des maîtres du monde. Les décors privés des romains* (2009), as well as Veyne with his *La Villa des Mystères à Pompéi* (2016).[70] An interesting collection of studies also referring to some other parts of Pompeii is the catalogue *The Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii. Ancient Ritual, Modern Muse*, edited by Elaine K. Gazda (2000). It contains e.g. Molly Swetnam-Burland's article "Bacchus/Liber in Pompeii: A Religious Context for the Villa of the Mysteries Frieze".[71]

The programmatic view of how the themes for Pompeian houses were selected was first emphasized by Adolf Trendelenburg.[72] Schefold, while studying the pictorial programs, considered that the topics were located in certain rooms for precise reasons; in Greece, Dionysus had belonged to the men's room (ἀνδρών) for the symposia, and correspondingly to Roman dining rooms, while the love symbols, for their part, belonged to cubicula. Mary Lee Thompson studied 277 rooms, out of which 185 had a pictorial program with Dionysus or Aphrodite or their attributes.[73] She criticized Schefold's view that, following the Greek practice, Romans saw their homes and their whole lives as controlled by the gods. Consequently, art would have sanctified life, and the Augustan poets emphasized the significance of myths even more. In Pompeii, works of art were to be found mostly in the private houses, unlike in Greece, as is known from literary sources. The comprehensively planned pictorial program of an ordinary home would thus have been a Roman invention, connected with the Third and Fourth Pompeian styles.[74]

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[68] Sauron 1984, 173–174 emphasized the Romanized nature of the Dionysiac myth. He wrote his later study (1998) according to the view that the owner of the villa was a lady initiated into the mysteries.

[69] Pailler 2000, 373–390.

[70] Sauron 2009, 105–128; Veyne 2016.

[71] Several articles are of specific interest. Swetnam-Burland discusses also the domestic religion of Bacchus/Liber and his iconography, 64–70.

[72] A. Trendelenburg, 'Die Gegenstücke in der campanischen Wandmalerei', *Archäologische Zeitung* 34 (1876) 1–8, 79–83.

[73] Schefold's most important works on pictorial programmes are *Pompejanische Malerei. Sinn und Ideengeschichte* (1952) and *Vergessenes Pompeji. Unveröffentlichte Bilder römischer Wanddekorationen in geschichtlicher Folge* (1962). In the last work, the appendix II contains a topographic list of style-specific picture series; Thompson 1961 discusses the question with earlier research in mind. The published article is based on her dissertation *Programmatic Painting in Pompeii: The Meaningful Combination of Mythological Pictures in Room Decoration* (New York 1960).

[74] Thompson 1961, 43. Along with criticism from other researchers against Schefold, Thompson accepts his main idea, the presence of conceptual and narrative relations in nearly all Pompeian rooms with wall paintings. Thompson suggested that Schefold put too much emphasis on illustrated manuscripts connected with the paintings.

Also the location of wall paintings has been discussed. According to Schefold, Bacchic motifs adorned several dining rooms, but in those the more common motifs were connected either with eating or Venus, Diana, still lives, landscapes, and even Nilotic scenes. Ling, for his part, wanted to contest the idea that dining rooms were often adorned with Bacchic entities: in his list of 137 dining rooms excavated in Pompeii, only seven triclinia were clearly associated with Bacchus, and 39 had some elements belonging to a Bacchic theme, while in 86 there were no Bacchic references, and in five the interpretation of the motif remained unclear. Ling remarked, however, that his numbers were ultimately inaccurate because so many paintings were destroyed, and an analysis of the complete pictorial programme was thus not possible. Further, according to Ling, the Greek symposion became the Roman convivium at the same time as motifs connected with Dionysus lost part of their significance, and mythological motifs nearly always dominated the central pictures. Also, entertaining guests was the main activity in these rooms, which is why the finest decoration possible was chosen – a mythological painting based on Greek models was the most expensive and representative choice. There is no greater Bacchic emphasis in dining rooms compared to other spaces. The proprietor's literary taste or knowledge might have affected the choice of themes, but the choice must have usually been made for practical as well as artistic reasons.[75] Tronchin again accepted Ling's perspective while analysing the room *h* in the Casa di Octavius Quartio, decorated with well-known scenes from the Iliad and Herculean motifs. She presented the room as an example of the multifunctional role of triclinia. They were not only spaces for dining (and drinking) but also for dancing, the recitation of poetry, and other spectacles as part of a banquet. She thought that the wall paintings were more likely to have inspired discussion when the motifs were familiar to the guests.[76]

In addition to the themes of the paintings, different painters and workshops have also been analysed by several scholars. Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti's *Pittori di Pompei* (1963), Lawrence Richardson's *A Catalog of Identifiable Figure Painters of Ancient Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae* (2000), and Domenico Esposito's *Le officine pittoriche di IV stile a Pompei. Dinamiche produttive ed economico-sociali* (2009) are the most important ones.[77] Workshops and pattern books have also been studied by Penelope M. Allison.[78]

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75 Ling 1995, 239–241, 248–250. Ling considers real mythological pictorial programmes to be rare.

76 Tronchin 2006, 251–252.

77 Milan 1963, but the research was finished as early as 1952; Baltimore 2000; Studi SAP 28 (2009). Esposito published before e.g. 'La "Bottega dei Vettii". Vecchi dati e nuove acquisizioni' in *RSP* 10 (1999), 23–61.

78 Allison 1991, 80–82, discusses the wide variety of different sources and even the role of the house owners.

The role of the individuals who ordered or viewed the wall paintings have also been studied frequently. The decision to acquire a wall painting reflected both local conventions and fashions, and its exact location in respective houses was chosen according to the nature of the space, representing the status of a family, whether emotionally or idealized.[79] Tronchin's criterion for a client's choice between various possible types of depictions was his familiarity with a myth. According to Schefold, motifs were selected for precise reasons on a room-by-room basis, forming programmatic cycles.[80] Opinions vary on this matter. According to Ling, the wall paintings in the houses of the newly rich could develop into pinacotheca, even displaying copies of the old masters, and he considered the choice of mythological themes as mostly accidental. The owner ordered the paintings, chose the motifs that he liked, and these were then adapted to the existing wall surfaces by treating the models fairly freely.[81] Fashions also changed over time,[82] and for the wall paintings the personal experiences of the viewer and the Hellenistic concepts of pleasure and love, i.e. the Dionysiac and Aphrodisiac worlds, have been emphasized.[83] It has been claimed that the Romans did not understand the portrayals of different divinities in their art in the same way as the Greeks. The Romans needed more concrete concepts, considering perhaps at first that the Greek images of gods were of a different religiosity without their attributes.[84]

In the pictorial hierarchy of respective houses the social status of the users inside the family was important as well.[85] Further studies deal with specific Bacchic aspects, e.g. V.M. Strocka's *Casa del principe di Napoli (VI 15, 7.8)*, with a list of some well-known paintings of Bacchus.[86] Little attention is given to certain topics, such as Bacchus riding a panther, although the emphasis of the research lies elsewhere; suffice it to mention Ellen Schwinzer's *Schwebende Gruppen in der pompejanischen Wandmalerei*.[87]

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[79] E.g. Lorenz 2008, 14–51, 431–454 analyzed the specific contexts of the paintings, in their respective rooms and in the house. Mythological mosaics in their contexts have been studied by Susanne Muth, e.g. *Erleben von Raum – Leben im Raum. Zur Funktion mythologischer Mosaikbilder in der römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur* (Archäologie und Geschichte 10, Heidelberg 1998), and 'Überflutet von Bildern. Die Ikonophilie im spätantiken Haus' in Zanker – Neudecker 2005, 223–242.

[80] Schefold 1962, appendix II.

[81] Ling 1991, 135–140.

[82] Bragantini 2014, 326–337.

[83] E.g. Zanker 1998, 81–85 and Zanker 1999, 44–46.

[84] H. Jucker, *Vom verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen* (*diss*. Zürich) 1950, 23–24.

[85] The persons for whom the pictures were made were of course individuals of various social classes. For the ordinary people and the images of gods, see e.g. Clarke 2003, 73–94. The room types, according to their decorations, have also been studied by e.g. Penelope M. Allison.

[86] *Häuser in Pompeji* 1 (1984), 44–45.

[87] Schwinzer 1979, 119–124.

Pompeian figural mosaics have been studied by Erich Pernice (1938)[88] and Mariette de Vos (1979)[89], and there are other more specific analyses e.g. on workshops. Bernard Andreae has a good amount of Pompeian examples in his study *Antike Bildmosaiken*.[90]

Both Bacchic and Pompeian sculpture have also been diligently studied. Pochmarski first examined free-standing statues of Dionysus in Greece in *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands*,[91] also including, however, later material such as Roman copies. Specific research on Dionysiac sculpture was carried out by e.g. Brigitte Hundsalz, especially on decorative reliefs (1987),[92] Ivonne Manfrini-Aragno on bronze statues (1987),[93] and Stephan F. Schröder on Bacchus of the Apollon Lykeios -type (1989); Apollon Lykeios has actually been seen as a model for Pompeian wall paintings. In the book, there are Pompeian examples including our numbers F23 and F19[94] – Dionysus' iconography has also been studied at a general level locally and chronologically, without any connection to Pompeian sources, by Isabelle Tassignon, in her *Iconographie et religion dionysiaques en Gaule Belgique et dans les deux Germanies*.[95] Herms in both the Greek and the Roman world have been broadly studied, and are also common amongst Pompeian sculpture.[96]

A catalogue of the majority of Pompeian statues, mentioned in the early reports, was compiled by Hartmut Döhl.[97] Subsequently, he published together with Paul Zanker an article with several thematic types.[98] Wilhelmina Jashemski's *The Gardens of Pompeii* lists statues discovered in the gardens of the Pompeian houses,[99] and Christopher Moss's *Roman Marble Tables* also includes many statues from Pompeii. This research is also useful for my study, as herms were often used as table supports.[100] *Marmora*

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88 Pernice, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji 6, (Berlin 1938).

89 De Vos, 'Pavimenti e mosaici', in *Pompei 79*, 161–176.

90 Mainz 2003.

91 Dissertationen der Universität Graz 26 (Wien 1974).

92 *Das dionysische Schmuckrelief* (Tuduv-Studien, Reihe Archäologie 1, Munich 1987).

93 *Bacchus dans les bronzes hellénistiques et romains, Les artisans et leur repertoire* (Lausanne 1987).

94 *Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollon Lykeios* (Rome 1989).

95 Liège 1996.

96 E.g. H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme*, Trierer Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 1 (1985), Mainz am Rhein 1986. This book has no images except on the front cover, which makes it hard to use.

97 *Plastik aus Pompeji* (Göttingen 1976). I am grateful to Professor Döhl for sending me this rare study.

98 'La scultura' in Zevi 1979, 177–210.

99 Especially the second volume is a proper catalogue (New Rochelle 1993), but some are mentioned only in the first volume (New Rochelle 1979).

100 Diss. Princeton 1988.

Pompeiana nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (2008), a publication by several authors, lists the marble sculptures in topographical order, including those without certain knowledge of their original locations.[101] In addition, specific studies on such topics as portraits,[102] statues in Pompeian temples,[103] sculptures of tufa,[104] and connected to certain buildings[105] have been made, but in these the representations of Bacchus are very limited. Research on the bronze statuettes of Pompeii has already been mentioned above. Some scholars, while concentrating on artefacts in several houses, e.g. Eugene Dwyer and Penelope M. Allison,[106] have also produced useful information on statues. A large amount of Pompeian statues, however, remain without a proper publication.

The Name of the Divinity in Research

Dionysus, Liber, or Bacchus – the name used by scholars for the god has varied all throughout the history of the research. In order to show the complexity in the usage, I analyse it in some studies mentioned above. In her study of Roman Dionysus, Håkansson stated briefly that the choice had been problematic already in ancient literature, and remains so among modern scholars. Her own point for using Dionysus was based on Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[107] This is not, however, very conclusive, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote in Greek and towards the end of the first century BC, and the event under discussion had taken place during the Early Republic about 496 BC and was connected to the Sibylline books, which were notable for their connections to Greek cult and conceptions. Bruhl was of the opinion that when the dictator Lucius Postumius vowed a temple to Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore on the Aventine in 496 BC, the three

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[101] This study has some problems, but is a catalogue with most Pompeian statues in the museum and has good illustrations. *Studi SAP* 26 (Rome 2008).

[102] E.g. K.E. Welch, 'Pompeian men and women in portrait sculpture' in Dobbins – Foss 2007, 550–584; Raffaella Bonifacio, *Ritratti romani da Pompei*, (Rome 1997); A. de Franciscis, *Il ritratto romano a Pompei*, (Naples 1951).

[103] W. Van Andringa 2012.

[104] O. Elia 1975.

[105] E.g. G. Stefani, 'Le statue del macellum di Pompei', *Ostraka* 15/1 (2006), 195–230.

[106] E.J. Dwyer, *Pompeian domestic sculpture.A study of five Pompeian houses and their contents*, (Rome 1982) and 'Sculpture and its display in private houses of Pompeii', in Pompeii and the Vesuvian Landscape, (Washington 1979), 59–77; P.M. Allison, *Pompeian households. Analysis of the material culture*, Monograph 42 (Los Angeles 2004).

[107] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 6,17,2–4 writes about the temple using the Greek names Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore, and also 6,94,3; Håkansson 2010, 72–73. In her footnote 198:"*There seems to be confusion over the names, not only among modern scholars, but even the ancient writers show inconsistencies.*" In this case the use of Dionysius is not inconsistent, although he writes in Greek using Greek names.

were identified with existing Roman divinities: Ceres, Liber, and Libera. The title of Bruhl's research carries the name *Liber Pater*; he showed, however, that the epithet *Pater* was a later addition to the name of the old Italic god.[108]

Bacchus was the choice of Pailler; he argued that even if Liber Pater would have been the most justified for a study of the Roman world, he was dealing with a divinity whose sphere had already evolved to include that of wine, for the Greek tradition. Furthermore, for him the Greek Βάκχος better described all the powers of the divinity, and was thus his most dynamic name;[109] it was also the origin of the terms defining his followers, cult places, and events – bacchants and bacchanalia.[110] Drew Wilburn was of the opinion that all the names are plausible according to the cultural and geographic context; although Liber or Bacchus/Liber were the most suitable names for Campania and Italy during the late Republic and Early Empire, for the South Italian Greek colonies and in other particularly Greek contexts Dionysus could well be used in the same research.[111] Yves Perrin discussed his own use of Dionysus and Bacchus, mixing them without any preference – but he favoured Dionysus in the end, even though he usually referred to other gods by their Roman names.[112] Consequently, in research literature all three names are used, sometimes even in a confusing manner.[113]

According to some researchers, Liber, Bacchus, and Dionysus can have the same iconographic depiction, though their appearance can differ in details.[114] As shown later, the names Liber and Bacchus occur most frequently in the Latin sources, but this is not comparable to the use of the names in modern iconographic research, where the name Dionysus is the most frequently used. Helbig, for example, used Greek names in entries for deities in his catalogue *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (1868); the rare exceptions were, among others, Fortuna and Abundantia, which did not have Greek equivalents.[115] The entry "Bacchus" in the *Lexicon iconographicum my-*

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[108] Bruhl 1953, 13–14.

[109] Pailler 1995, 1–15.

[110] For the significance of the word "bacchanalia", p. 46.

[111] Wilburn 2000, 15.

[112] Perrin 2006, 129–132.

[113] Published as a part of Forcellini's dictionary on Roman names, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis Onomasticon,* Giuseppe Perin provides examples of Bacchus with a different name in the original ancient texts. In the older version, *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon* Vincenzo de-Vit refers in the entry "Liber" to the fact that some authors say the same things about Liber that others do about Bacchus or Dionysus, under their respective entries. Thus, information on them can be found within the entry "Bacchus", Forcellini – Perin (*Onomasticon* 5) 1940, 237; Forcellini – De-Vit (*Onomasticon* 4) 1887–1892, 121.

[114] My comments on this argument appear in the catalogue under the individual entries.

[115] Helbig 1868, Contents page and "Dionysos", 93–135. In the German text the god himself is *Dionysos*, but the names and adjectives of the companions are derived from the name *Bacchus*.

thologiae classicae has a reference to the assimilation with Dionysus; "Bacchus", however, comprises one part of the larger entry under "Dionysos", with all of the examples of Bacchus being from the Roman world. In *Pompei, Pitture e mosaici* there is no consistency, as different authors use various names without any justification.[116] In this respect, the tradition can differ considerably, even in one and the same work the name can change continuously, as is the case in Bruhl's study.[117] As a result, the Greek name "Dionysus" is often used by scholars in the Roman context as well, perhaps because the Roman tradition obviously played a minor part in the mythology of Liber also known as Bacchus. The myths and images depicting them show Greek influences.

Research Question and Methods

My research question is simple, but very necessary, as to this day we lack an exhaustive study on Pompeian Bacchus' iconography.[118] My purpose is to establish how he was depicted in the visual arts, i.e. in wall paintings, mosaics and free-standing and architectural sculpture, alone and with his companions, in detail and as a composition. Pursuant to this, it is also inevitable to explore which things and circumstances affected the final result that was expressed in the visual arts. That is why other sources pertaining to the Pompeian divinity are also taken into consideration. That is, contemporary written sources and later material, in addition to the drawings and written descriptions made mainly in the 19th century. The data for my research was collected from *Pompei, Pitture e mosaici*[119], *Pitture e Pavimenti di Pompei* (*Repertorio delle fotografie del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale*)[120] and Karl Schefold's *Die Wände Pompejis, topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive*[121], and further from studies of individual Pompeian houses.

"Pompeian" in this connection signifies Bacchus' display locally inside the town walls, and in the extramural temple and villas in areas located outside the core of the town, but still being part of the urban complex. Chronologically the research covers a period of some three hundred years, from the founding of the temple to the destruction

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[116] E.g. Elena Maria Menotti uses "Bacco" (*PPM* 2, 838) and Mariette de Vos "Dioniso" (*PPM* 2, 677 and *PPM* 3, 19, 21).

[117] The names vary in different parts of Bruhl's text, but he tries to separate different names and employs a parallel study of the figures. Even the title of the work offers an alternative: the god is *Liber Pater*, but the cult is *dionysiaque*. Thus, a differentiation is made between the god's name and the religion. Similarly, the title of the fourth part is *La religion Dionysiaque…*, but in the following there are references to *Dionysos*, *Liber,* and *Bacchus*: Bruhl 1953, 161–331, 353.

[118] I first noticed the state of affairs when starting fieldwork in the House of Marcus Lucretius in 2002.

[119] Eds. I. Baldassare – G. Pugliese Carratelli, Rome 1990–2003.

[120] Rome I–III 1981–1986, Indici 1992.

[121] Berlin 1957.

of the town in AD 79. The research material proper consists, firstly, of the remains of the temple at the location of Sant'Abbondio and its pedimental sculpture. Secondly, of written sources, there are a meagre lot – one inscription, two graffiti, and one dipinto – with the names occurring in them and the location of the texts being of particular interest. Thirdly, of the sculpture, amongst which the numerous herms I have to leave out for a later study. Finally, of the wall paintings, by far the largest group, with more than 150[122] entries inside and on the façades of the Pompeian houses and of the mosaics; much has been written about the wall paintings, but the previous research has concentrated mostly on the central pictures, while the other pictorial fields have received less attention. It is my intention to also amend this shortcoming.

The visual arts and iconography are not isolated phenomena, but are instead a material manifestation intimately connected to society, individual preferences, religious customs, and influences from outside.[123] This is why it is imperative to recapitulate the historical background in Chapter 2. In order to better understand the Pompeian sources, the focus is first on Greek influence affecting Liber and other Italic parallels, the prohibition of bacchanals, and the influence of Hellenistic art. The literary material consists of texts by several authors, written mainly around the time of the destruction of Pompeii. In some cases, the use of even later sources may also be rewarding.

Equally necessary is the overview of the name forms in Chapter 3, as used in the Latin written sources – Liber, Bacchus, Dionysos/Dionysus, or Iacchus – for a comparison of the general Roman usage, on the one hand in Pompeii, and on the other in Latin texts referring to Pompeii. For my own title, I have chosen *Bacchus*, for reasons which will be presented in this chapter.

My research is multidisciplinary, as is characteristic of any research on ancient art and archaeology. It is also a case study of an ancient divinity within the boundaries of a well defined area, and in a clearly limited period. The ancient written source material (Chapter 3) is lamentably limited both in quality and quantity, and to reach my innermost goal, exploring the portrayal of Pompeian Bacchus, I depend heavily on the wall paintings and the sculpture. I apply the descriptive method, by which I firstly make the

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[122] There may have even been 190 images of Bacchus, but some are clearly Apollo or Hesperus, and some have been totally destroyed, so it is not possible to analyse them. In the catalogue, more information is given for 147 examples in separate entries.

[123] Mythological images can be studied in several ways. The ideal is to analyse even beyond the deepest iconographic level i.e. iconology (Panofsky 1955, 32; or iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense, aiming to show intrinsic meaning or content, the world of symbolical values, Panofsky 1939, 7, 14–15), and as a part of everyday life outside the picture. My idea is to look how the space was used (outdoors or indoors), and classify the images into types. The interpretation of myths clearly identifiable is the easiest section: in Pompeii that is the discovering of Ariadne, which is also the most studied group. My approach tends to be more contextual-differentiating than associative-philological or generalizing – using the terms of Susanne Muth in her revised dissertation, *Erleben von Raum – Leben im Raum*. Muth 1998, 36–45; Lorenz 2016, 8.

statement of affairs, with an attempt to identify what is seen, without any control over the variables.[124] In this way I will establish knowledge of various aspects and characteristics of the phenomenon, i.e. Bacchus' general iconographic features. The three source groups for this study, even if not commensurable in quantity, allow the use of the comparative method, thus bringing together all of my observations. To explain and validate my conclusions, the analysis of the material will allow one to form an idea of Bacchus' cult in Pompeii, and the religious versus the merely decorative role of the divinity in Pompeian visual arts; and, additionally, to what degree the Greek features can be differentiated from the Roman ones.

The material is challenging, due to the poor state of preservation of part of the main source material. We have entirely lost at least 65 paintings, and some scuplture have been lost as well, but they are known through the (earlier) excavation reports. Another difficulty is that the information given in the excavation reports cannot always be precisely linked to an existing sculpture, e.g. the pieces taken to the storeroom in Naples cannot always be identified.

2. Milestones in the Coming of Bacchus

The main events and highlights in the process of accepting the Bacchic cult in the Roman world are collected in this chapter, paying special attention to the chronology, iconography, and people. There is a prelude to this process in the area of Cumae (Kyme), where the tyrant Aristodemus (died ca 490 BC) was nicknamed Malakos, effeminate, probably due his desire to imitate Bacchus, and may even have been initiated himself.[125] Somewhat later, from the mid-fifth century BC, is an individual large tomb from a Cumaean cemetery with the Greek epitaph: "Lying buried in this place is illegal unless one has become *bakchos* [i.e., has lived like a *bakchos*]".[126] The initiated apparently wanted to separate themselves from other people, even in death.

According to Cicero, there had already been a tendency to control the Dionysiac cult in Greece. He tells about a Theban named Diagondas who banned all nocturnal offerings.[127] Both the name of the protagonist as well as the time of the event are uncertain, but probably the 4th century BC, i.e. the time of the Theban hegemony. One reason for this resistance may have been the worshippers' desire to devote themselves to a single god, being thus perhaps an early sign of monotheism.[128] There are two Greek

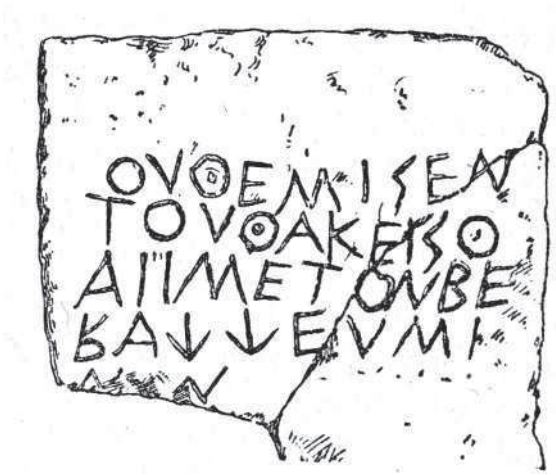
[124] D.E. Ethridge, *Research Methodology in Applied Economics*. Oxford 2004², 24.

[125] Casadio 2009, 37–39.

[126] Peterson 1919, 70; Cumont 1949, 253; English translation in Casadio 2009, 36.

[127] Cic. *leg.* 2,37.

[128] Henk S. Versnel, 'Heis Dionysos – One Dionysos? A polytheistic Perspective' in *A Different God? Dio-*



The inscription of the Bacchants' cemetery in Cumae. Cumont 1949, 252.

inscriptions from Hellenistic Miletus that are of interest from the point of view of cultic practices. The first is the funeral inscription of a priestess, while the second and longer one gives a general description of a priestess' duties, partly consisting of shared duties with a priest. The priestess was responsible for both the official sacrifices and the supervision of private ones.[129] Some way further south, on the island of Kos, an epitaph from the third or second century BC tells of a priestess who officially supervised the female worshippers of Dionysus.[130] These inscriptions illustrate the importance of the role of women, both in performing the rituals and supervising the cult.

It was not unknown for the Romans to adopt Greek religious practices, indirectly, from southern parts of Italy. The plebeian triad of Ceres, Liber and Libera on the Aventine was certainly inspired by the Eleusinian cult via Magna Graecia.[131] Naevius, a Capuan-born Roman poet in the latter half of the third century BC, is accredited with providing information about the Liberalia festivities.[132] This was a period when many outside cultural influences were brought to Rome. As a result, some changes were made in the programmes of the festivals, and more theatrical performances were included.[133]

With its growing territorial conquests, more religious influences reached Rome, and foreign cults were widely accepted. Most Italic cult places were adopted by Rome, and temples and altars were founded for them even in the city of Rome itself. In many districts, Roman officials and priests joined in the annual festivals. Roman colonies

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nysos and Ancient Polytheism, R. Schlesier (ed.), Berlin 2011, 23–46.

[129] Jaccottet 2003, 250–253 (nos. 149–150). She dates the epitaph now in Istanbul to the 3rd or 2nd century BC, a priestesses' work description 276/275 BC; Cole 2007, 337 analyses the relationship between public and private cult activities.

[130] Cole 2007, 338.

[131] *Medio repubblicana*, 97.

[132] Fest. 115–116 is alas interested in the etymology of the festival.

[133] Eric Orlin, 'Urban Religion in the Middle and Late Republic', in *Companion to Roman Religion* (2007, 58–70), 62–63.

acquired many old cult sites.[134] The Dionysiac cult, with its eastern influences, had been particularly strengthened during the Second Punic War (218–202 BC). During the course of the war, there had even been a significant legal case restricting foreign cults. In 213 BC, certain rituals in public places were forbidden. The event was part of a longterm discussion about what was Roman in Roman religion, and how much Greek influence it should incorporate.[135] Significantly, in 209–208 BC the Romans took 30,000 prisoners of war from Taras, who may have been instrumental in bringing the Greek cult of Bacchus to the city.[136] Before the Social War (91–87 BC) there were more exceptions to Roman tolerance, the most important being the cult of Bacchus.[137]

In the negative atmosphere created by the law of 213 BC, the cult of Bacchus became restricted and secretive in nature. The severeness of the Senate's actions in outright prohibiting it in 186 BC showed it to be an exceptional case. The popularity of the cult of Bacchus probably did not come as a complete surprise to the Senate, even if the most extensive Roman source, Livy, so implies it.[138] In addition to Livy, other authors refer to these events. The Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, the bronze tablet found in 1640 in Ager Teuranus (modern Tiriolo) in Bruttium, [139] confirms the main points given by Livy: the Roman youth were being corrupted by Paculla Annia, a native from Campania, but this malice originated from a Greek immigrant in Etruria: *Graecus igno-*

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[134] J. Scheid, 'Rome et les grands lieux de culte d'Italie', in *Pouvoir et religion dans le monde Romain*, Paris 2006, 75–86. The political center of the Samnite people, Pietrabbondante, was destroyed after the social wars in 87 BC. In the first century BC the most remarkable cult site in Campania from the Roman point of view was the temple of Diana Tiphatina near Capua. Sulla gave the cult autonomy, later confirmed by the emperors. During the time of Augustus, when many temples around Italy were renovated, all the gods of the municipia and colonies were considered to be both Roman and local. However, Tesse Stek states that no archaeological material supports the idea that the defeated nations' politically significant cult centers were destroyed, not even in Pietrabbondante. Booty could, however, be taken e.g. from the shrine of Proserpina in Lokroi and Hera's temple near Kroton. Stek 2009, 29 and 33–34.

[135] Liv. 25,1,6–12. Livius on foreign origin:"*…tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, civitatem incessit ut aut homines aut dei repente alii viderentur facti.*" *Bonorum* is a term used of those aware of the dangerousness of the cult (the good ones); E. Orlin, 'Urban Religion in the Middle and Late Republic', in *Companion to Roman Religion* (2007), 63–64; Scheid 2013, 181–182.

[136] Frank 1927, 129; Pugliese Carratelli 1965, 32.

[137] Stek 2009, 19. Rome not only banned bacchanals, but also prohibited the cults and rituals of the colonies.

[138] Briscoe 2008, 231–237. There are different opinions on the reliability of the narrative, and on how Livius gained access to it. Hispala could have either told the truth or changed the story for his own benefit, but his narrative was a decisive factor. See also Pailler 1988, 450; and oriental features in Turcan 1989, 290–292. Cf. association with Sabazius.

[139] In the 190s BC both Roman and Latin colonies were founded in the area, e.g. in Kroton and Temesa in 194 BC. *CIL* 1^2 581 and *CIL* X 104. The inscription is in Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Antikenabteilung III 168).

bilis in Etruriam primum venit…nec is qui aperta religione, propalam et quaestum et disciplinam profitendo, animos errore imbueret, sed occultorum et nocturnorum antistes sacrorum… Huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam veluti contagione morbi penetravit. Annia Paculla also initiated men, and especially her own sons, into the cult: *Pacullam Anniam Campanam sacerdotem omnia, tamquam deum monitu, immutasse, nam et viros eam primam filios suos initiasse, Minium et Herennium Cerrinios…*[140]

The role of Paculla Annia has been interpreted in many ways.[141] She may have originally been a priestess of Ceres, thus holding an office known to have conducted Greek rites since the early 3rd century BC at the latest. This office was, however, separate from the priestesses of the triad of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.[142] It seems that Livy received his information from the annalistic tradition, which favoured the Senate's severe actions against the Bacchanals.[143] They have been understood as a cult originating both in Campania and Etruria, as stated in Livy, as many Greek customs adopted by the Etruscans were actually seen as corrupt by the Romans.[144] Contrary to the Greek custom, as seen above, Paculla Annia acted as private person, not in accordance with any official role, and so her cultic activities were repressed. It has been suggested that Paculla Annia was a revivalist who wanted to restore the Bacchic cult to its original vigour and truth, which meant the older Greek customs rather than

[140] Liv. 39,8,3-4 and 39,9,1 and 39,13,9–14.

[141] Bruhl 1953, 59–60; Pailler 1988, 435–447; Turcan 1989, 300–301; Hänninen 1998, 121; Briscoe 2008, 236–237. The rites conducted by Paculla Annia were nocturnal, unlike the rites of Ceres. Moreover, only women were initiated into the cult of Ceres, and only three times a year. Pailler suggests that Paculla Annia was the priestess of Ceres, which Briscoe considered unlikely, but favored the idea of Paculla Annia having tried to replace the cult of Ceres with that of Bacchus. Paculla Annia is supposed to have been Campanian instead of Greek. On the Greek origin of the priestesses of Ceres, see Cic. Balb.55: *Cognoscite nunc iudicium senatus, quod semper iudicio est populi comprobatum. sacra Cereris, iudices, summa maiores nostri religione confici caerimoniaque voluerunt; quae cum essent adsumpta de Graecia, et per Graecas curata sunt semper sacerdotes et Graeca omnino nominata. Sed cum illam quae Graecum illud sacrum monstraret et faceret ex Graecia deligerent, tamen sacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt, ut deos immortalis scientia peregrina et externa, mente domestica et civili precaretur. Has sacerdotes video fere aut Neapolitanas aut Veliensis fuisse, foederatarum sine dubio civitatum;* They were also given Roman citizenship. Scheid 2013, 111; Filippo Coarelli emphasizes the Sicilian origin of the cult of Ceres. Henna was a cult site of Demeter and Persephone, well-known to Romans. Coarelli *LTUR* 1, 260.

[142] Scheid 2013, 148.

[143] Turcan 1989, 300; Wiseman 2000, 265. An extensive source analysis was carried out by Dick Willem Louis Van Son. He classified Livius' potential primary and secondary sources as follows: 1) Annalists (Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias), 2) Cato, 3) Official documents (the minutes of the Senate, the decisions and Annales Maximi by the pontifices). Similarly, he listed all the secondary sources of Roman literature on the topic. Van Son 1960, 9–10, 63–97.

[144] Liv. 39,8,5: *Additae voluptates religioni vini et epularum, quo plurium animi illicerentur.* This sentence is to be found at the beginning of Van Son's text on Etruria's questionable reputation, Van Son 1960, 24–31.

the later Hellenistic ones.[145] But artistically it was the Hellenistic Bacchus type which flourished in Italy.

Scholars' views differ as to how the cult spread so widely in Rome. According to Tenney Frank, supported by Adrien Bruhl, the prisoners of war from Tarentum (Taras) promoted the cult. Theoder Mommsen noted that the origin of the names of Paculla Annia's family circle, as given by Livy – Pacius and Pacullus (Pâcius, Pahius, and Pâculus) – were originally Greek and Oscan forms, while the Volscians and the Romans used Paquius and Pacuvius. The names of Paculla Annia's sons, Minius and Herennius, also occur in Nola, in the same geographical area where the cult of Bacchus was strong; the evidence for this comes both from the Greek colonies and Roman literature.[146] By prohibiting the Bacchanals, the Senate wished to restrict the ecstatic rites, especially among the military, as the cult was of Greek origin and was thus considered thoroughly dangerous to the Republic. Besides the many participants originating from elsewhere, e.g. from South Italy, there were noble Romans as well. According to Livy, the leaders of the conspiracy against the Republic were a heterogeneous group consisting of Paculla Annia's son Minius Cerrinus and another non-Roman, a Faliscan Lucius Opiturnius, and the Roman plebeians Marcus and Gaius Atinius, whose family name also appears in Campania, e.g. in Pompeii.[147] The plebeian connection may have been strengthened by the topographical vicinity to the city of Rome: the nocturnal rites were held in a grove called the *lucus Stimulae* at the foot of the Aventine hill, where Hispala, who uncovered the conspiracy, also lived. The official cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera was situated on the slope of the Aventine Hill as well.[148] Overall, the plebeians have been considered to have had more connections to the Greeks in the south, while the patricians favoured the Etruscans. The Greek artists who had decorated the temple had their names inscribed in Greek as well.[149] More than seven thousand people were involved, and as a consequence of the Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus many were executed,

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[145] North 1979, 89.

[146] Bruhl suggested Etruria and Campania, Bruhl 1953, 58–59, 63, 70–81, 84–86 and 92; Frank 1927, 128–129; Cumont 1929, 333–334; Mommsen 1850, 284–285. Of Paculla Annia's sons, only Herennius is mentioned along with Livius in a Nolan inscription, and Minius also in Cato (agr. 151), as the name of a Nolan expert in growing cypresses. For more details, Mommsen 1850, 178, 261 and 279–280. For the examples from Roman literature and Campanian inscriptions, see below.

[147] Liv. 39,17,6. As youths were desired for bacchanals, the consuls were worried about their military reliability. Liv. 39,15,13; Castrén 1975, 140; Three Pompeian inscriptions: *CIL* IV 1271 (ATINIUS HIC ATINIUS HIC), 8179 (interpreted M. ATINI, I 7, 19) and 8383 (ATTINI, I 10, 8); Bruhl 1953, 86; John Briscoe considers it a coincidence that the same name occurs in the inscriptions of Sant'Abbondio temple area, Briscoe 2008, 238.

[148] Liv. 39,9 and 12; Briscoe 2008, 235, 262–263; F. Coarelli *LTUR* 1, 261.

[149] Momigliano 1969, 450–452. He emphasizes both religious and economic links between the plebeians and the Greek colonies in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

exiled, committed suicide, or fled the city.[150] The *Bacanal* remained a target of hostility in the Roman community, as the movement was considered an enemy of organised society; in particular, the participation of matronae went against family values, and the social classes were not to be mixed.[151]

Under this pressure, the old official agrarian cult of Liber was separated from the secret mystery cult of Bacchus, so that it could not be limited by the Senate. It is problematic what precisely was prohibited. Did the cult become illegal only in the city of Rome, or throughout the whole of Italy? Livy wrote at a time when this did not matter anymore, as the Ager Teuranus had probably become *ager publicus populi Romani* after the second Punic war. Most likely the Senate wanted to prohibit the dangerous cult throughout the whole of Italy. Archaelogical remains of the ensuing devastation that probably resulted are extremely limited. One possible shrine of Bacchus near Volsinii may have been destroyed after the scandal.[152] In addition, the Roman historians mention some other persecutions of possible supporters elsewhere to the south of Rome, e.g. in Tarentum seven thousand shepherds were punished either in 185 or 184 BC by Lucius Postumius, and there may also have been a slave revolt; in Apulia problems continued as late as 181 BC.[153] The persecution of cult supporters was thorough, especially

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[150] Liv. 39,17.

[151] Pailler 1995, 168; Hänninen 1998, 120–123.The suppressed role of women overall may have been a reason for them becoming worshippers of Bacchus. According to the official notion, women were supposed to be mothers caring for their children, who had to stick to the old religion and support their men. Women's own activities were only allowed within certain limits.

[152] Stek 2009, 19–21; An example of a destroyed cult site is from the area of Poggio Moscini in Bolsena, which has been studied by the French for a long time (l'École française de Rome). See Jolivet – Marchand 2003, 35–51.

[153] Cumont 1929, 336–337; Wuilleumier 1939, 497; Bruhl 1953, 108–111; Wuilleumier stated Livius' number to have been exaggerated. It is the same number of worshippers that Spurius Postumius Albinus had condemned in Rome, according to Livy. This number has also been used to support the idea that Tarentum's shepherds were worshippers of Bacchus. Liv. 39,29,8–9: *Tarentum provinciam L. Postumius praetor habebat. Is de pastorum coniuratione, qui vias latrociniis pascuaque publica infesta habuerant, quaestionem severe exercuit. Ad septem milia hominum condemnavit; multi inde fugerunt, de multis sumptum est supplicium.*; Livius has another piece of information of the work of Lucius Postumius in the region when the bacchanals are mentioned. Liv. 39,41,6–7: *Et L. Postumius praetor, cui Tarentum provincia evenerat, magnas pastorum coniurationes vindicavit et reliquias Bacchanalium quaestionis cum cura exsecutus est. Multos, qui aut citati non adfuerant aut vades deseruerant, in ea regione Italiae latentes partim noxios iudicavit, partim comprehensos Romam ad senatum misit. In carcerem omnes a P. Cornelio coniecti sunt.* Obviously, Postumius was allowed to continue in office and in his suppression of the shepherds and bacchanals. Livy does not use the term propraetor for the continued position, and it is not common elsewhere either. According to Briscoe, the first item does not refer to the cult of Bacchus at all. The Greek term βουκόλοι may refer to the supporters of Bacchus, or only ordinary farmers without any land of their own. Briscoe 2008, 323, 356, 575–576.; Turcan 1989 304–305; Casadio 1995, 81–82; E.g. Pailler writes about the status of the cult of the

in the area of Magna Graecia, where the cult may have reflected the general opposition towards the Romans. In 132 BC the consul, Publius Popillius Laenas, wanted to allot the ever dangerous shepherds' land to farmers, but their link to the cult remains uncertain.[154] In spite of these persecutions, the cult of Bacchus survived in the Italian countryside. According to Livy, Bacchic shrines were not destroyed if they had an old altar or an old cult image. It seems that the punishments were aimed at those who committed themselves to Bacchic rituals henceforth. Permission to make sacrifices could be sought from a Praetor of the Senate, an alternative which probably remained only theoretical.[155]

Even while the Bacchic cult was being repressed in Rome, Hellenistic Dionysiac art was being imported to the West. After the conquest of Corinth in 145 BC, the consul Lucius Mummius donated a looted painting by the Theban artist Aristeides representing Bacchus and Ariadne to the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera on the Aventine Hill, which became the first imported painting displayed in a public place in Rome.[156] As to the cult image of the temple, it was probably represented on coins after 126 BC as depicting a young Bacchus in a Hellenistic manner, crowned with ivy.[157] In the second century BC the identification of Hellenistic rulers with gods did not initially please all Romans, as when the obese Egyptian king Ptolemy VIII appeared to the Roman envoys

triad and the gifts given to the temple of Aventinus. Pailler 1988, 452–455.

[154] Pugliese Carratelli 1965, 43–44. The interpretation partly depends on the identification of the shepherds with the cult supporters.

[155] Liv. 39,18,7:" …*extra quam si qua ibi vetusta ara aut signum consecratum esset.*" and Liv. 39,18,8–9; Turcan 1989, 298–303; Barnabei 2007, 39; Wiseman 2004, 182, 192–193; Bruhl 1953, 121–122; Briscoe 2008, 233; Pailler 1995,166.

[156] C. Gasparri 1986, s.v. Bacchus' in *LIMC* 3, 560. This painting may have been a model for the painting in the house of Marcus Lucretius Fronto in Pompeii.; After the conquest of Corinth, Lucius Mummius had intended to sell the painting, but when King Attalos offered such a huge sum for it (600 000 denaarii), he decided to keep it for himself and took it to Rome. Plin. *nat.* 35,24: "*Tabulis autem externis auctoritatem Romae publicae fecit primus omnium L. Mummius, cui cognomen Achaici victoria dedit. Namque cum in praeda vendenda rex Attalus* X [VI] *emisset tabulam Aristidis, Liberum patrem, pretium miratus suspicatusque aliquid in ea virtutis, quod ipse nesciret, revocavit tabulam, Attalo multum querente, et in Cereris delubro posuit, quam primam arbitror picturam externam Romae publicatam*." Cf. footnote a, H. Rackham, *Pliny Natural History* 9 (Plin. 33–35) (Loeb), London 1952, 278. The painting was obviously destroyed in the fire in 31 BC. Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 139–140; Cf. F. Coarelli s.v. Ceres, Liber, Liberaque, aedes; aedes Cereris in *LTUR* 1, 260.

[157] M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1975, 316C–317; http://numismatics.org/crro/results?q=issuer_facet:%22C.%20Cassius%22 (Retrieved 29.12.2018); C. Gasparri 1986, 546 *LIMC* III:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, no. 51. Dionysus wears his hair differently in coins from the 1st and 2nd centuries. C. Cassius was a triumvir monetalis in 126 BC. Earlier the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera was dedicated by Spurius Cassius, thus there may have been a family tradition of favoring Liber of some longevity. Platner – Ashby 1929, 109.

in transparent clothes around 140 BC, much to the visitors' disapproval. Thryphe,[158] meaning either the Dionysiac splendor and wealth of the Ptolemaic rulers or just oriental softness and effeminacy, was part of the Egyptian culture, and gradually this eastern influence began to gain ground in Rome; Caesar was possibly influenced by the worship of Dionysus, which was a state-controlled cult in Egypt. He was claimed by Servius to have brought the mysteries of Liber Pater to Rome. What Caesar exactly brought to Rome remains unclear. By doing this he obviously wanted to appear as a merciful Dionysus: a conqueror, benefactor, and provider of civilization. In the early 40's BC the Bacchic thiasus became a popular topic in the arts.[159] From the same time period, during the Late Republic, some stuccos and wall paintings with Dionysiac themes survive. Cleopatra's arrival at Cilician Tarsus dressed as Aphrodite was a more understandable event for Mark Antony than Ptolemy's earlier appearance to the Senate's ambassadors.[160] Antony, enchanted by Cleopatra, played the role of Dionysus, and he decreed in 40 BC that he should be honored as the new Dionysus in the temples of his provinces; on Naxos the temple of Dionysus was repaired and an over life-size statue representing Antony was placed there.[161] In the central lappet (pteryx/pteruge) of the lorica musculata of this now acephalous statue, there is a Bacchic depiction. The composition consists of a naked standing youth with a cloak in his arms; in his uplifted left hand he holds a thyrsus, and with his right he pours wine for a panther on his right side; behind him there is a tree. In the open left palm of the statue is a dancing maenad.[162]

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[158] W. Ameling 2002, *DNP* 12:1, 884, s.v. Tryphe.

[159] Serv. ecl. 5, 29; Bruhl 1953, 124–127. Caesar was in Egypt and brought Cleopatra to Rome, their time together was 48–44 BC. Ghisellini 2008, 65.

[160] Cumont 1929, 337; Bruhl 1953, 127–129; Zanker 1998, 21–22; C. Gasparri 1986, *LIMC* 3, 561, s.v. Bacchus 1; Pailler 1988, 728–743.; Fat and idle Ptolemy VIII was despised: *Quibus confluentibus, obvius legatis Romanorum, Scipioni Africano et Spurio Mummio et L. Metello, qui ad inspicienda sociorum regna veniebant, procedit. Sed quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim vultu deformis et statura brevis et sagina ventris non homini, sed beluae similis. Quam foeditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidae vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda praeberentur, quae omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant. Post discessum deinde legatorum (quorum Africanus, dum inspicit urbem, spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit) iam etiam peregrino populo invisus, cum filio, quem ex sorore susceperat, et cum uxore, matris paelice, metu insidiarum tacitus in exilium proficiscitur, contractoque mercennario exercitu, bellum sorori pariter ac patriae infert.* Iust. 38, 8, 8–11; Ath. 12, 73 (549g and e); Plut. *Ant*. 26 on the meeting of Cleopatra and Mark Antony in October 41 BC. Cleopatra arrived in her ship in Tarsos along the River Kydnos in a reclining position, like Aphrodite *in paintings.* People saw Antony correspondingly as Dionysus.

[161] Plut. *Ant.* 24,3-4 tells how Mark Antony arrived at Ephesus as a new Dionysus, who was a kind and benevolent god but also a wild and beastly robber. On Antony's desire to be depicted as a new Dionysus, see e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 60,3; Otto 1965, 83, 110; Lambrinoudakis–Gruben 1987, 608–613; Lambrinoudakis 1991, 174 (fig. 3); Gruben 2001, 380; Hekster 2004, 173–174

[162] The statue was discovered in 1986, and it is currently in the museum of the island, inv. 8716, 8921.

In the east, even the personal cult of Antony was not seen as antagonistic, while in the provincial town of Pompeii Bacchic themes appear in wall paintings and sculptures in private homes. The cult of Bacchus was useful in the propaganda war between Antony and Octavian, who used the cult of Bacchus against Antony when talking about the dangers of excessive luxury and drinking.[163] In Octavian's cultural program, on the other hand, he actually tolerated many gods, both in literature and the visual arts, and including Bacchus - even if he postponed the restoration of the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera that was burnt in 31 BC until very late.[164] It has been suggested that he still wanted to distinguish between Liber Pater and the Greek Bacchus; for him the agrarian Liber Pater signified peace, abundance, and concord.[165]

In the cultural life of Rome, an indication of Augustus' late-born change of mind was the festival of poets held somewhere on the Palatine hill in honor of Bacchus.[166] Perhaps another sign of this change in his opinions is a reference by Pausanias to the palace gardens as the location of a sanctuary of Bacchus, where the tusk of the Calydonian boar captured from the allies of Antony was kept. However, the exact location of cult places in Rome has remained at least partly unclear.[167] Interestingly, there was

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[163] Zanker 1987, 65–68; Mac Góráin 2013, 124; Scapini 2015, 193–195, is against any strong opposition between Dionysus-innovation-East and Apollo-tradition-West.

[164] It was dedicated by Tiberius only in 17 AD. Platner – Ashby 1929, 110.

[165] Tac. *ann.* 2,49: *Isdem temporibus deum aedis vetustate aut igni abolitas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberaeque et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quam A. Postumius dictator voverat, eodemque in loco aedem Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum, quod apud forum holitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit.* Because Augustus had some other temples repaired at the same time, the conscious nature of the postponement is not so clear. Platner – Ashby 1929, 110; Coarelli *LTUR* 1, 260–261; Wiseman 2000, 293–294; Mac Góráin 2017, 331.

[166] Ovid has a narrative of a new feast for Bacchus: *Illa dies haec est, qua te celebrare poetae, si modo non fallunt tempora, Bacche, solent, festaque odoratis innectunt tempora sertis, et dicunt laudes ad tua vina tuas.* Ov. *trist*. 5,3. the same poem discusses the topic, and so does Propertius: *Nunc, o Bacche, tuis humiles advolvimur aris: da mihi pacato vela secunda, Pater…vertice turrigero iuxta dea magna Cybebe tundet ad Idaeos cymbala rauca choros.* Propertius and Martial refer to a place near the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine. Many scholars thought that the right place might have been on Velia. Prop. 3,17,1–2 and 35–36; Martial also refers to the location near the picture of Cybele: *Flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus.* Lyaeus is the epithet for drunken Bacchus. Mart. 1,70,9–10. Augustus' more favorable relationship with Liber has been researched extensively. Gasparri 1986, 563 emphasizes that Augustus had already become more favorable to traditional cults; K. Galinsky, 'Continuity and Change: religion in the Augustan Semi-Century' in *Companion to Roman Religion* (2007, 71–82), 75–76; Mac Góráin 2013, 124.

[167] Pausanias related that the shrine was located in the emperor's gardens. Paus. 8,46,1 and 5; a semicircular building found near the basilica of Maxentius was considered a possible shrine of Liber. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida is against this theory, and locates the shrine near the house of Augustus. The curved

a lacuna in coinage as well, as after 42 BC Liber was depicted again on coins only in 19 BC.[168]

The influence of the cult of Bacchus was growing in the private lives of Romans, and there was also a public statue in the Porticus Octaviae in the southern part of the Campus Martius, as mentioned by Pliny the Elder, made by an unknown sculptor: it depicted four satyrs, one of whom carried Liber on his shoulders, the other correspondingly Libera. In Pompeii, there are parallels to Bacchus infants on the shoulder of satyrs, but Libera in the same position is a unique case.[169] The location of shrines of Liber (Bacchus) is discussed by Vitruvius when dealing with various public buildings in Roman towns; he recommended a site near a theatre, according to the Greek custom, which was not, however, common in Italy.[170] (Pompey's theatre in Rome was dedicated to Venus, and Apollo was associated with the theatre of old, and plays were performed in front of his temple in the Campus Martius, where Caesar began to build his own theatre.[171]) Vitruvius also wrote about the architecture of the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera in Rome: *In araeostylis autem nec lapideis nec marmoreis epistyliis uti datur, sed inponendae de materia trabes perpetuae. Et ipsarum aedium species sunt varicae, barycephalae, humiles, latae, ornanturque signis fictilibus aut aereis inauratis earum fastigia tuscanico more, uti est ad Circum Maximum Cereris et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitolii.*[172] He referred to the temple as being of an old-fashioned Etruscan style, and compared it with the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, and also with the temple of Hercules built by Pompey. Their mistake, in his opinion, was to have too wide spaces between the columns (an araeostyle, with columns standing far apart). These features may indicate the Italic tradition of the cult during the time it was built.[173]

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building depicted on a coin of Antoninus Pius could be a shrine found near Tor di Nona; the shrine is depicted on a coin minted by Antoninus Pius in 145. H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* 2, Paris 1882², 396–397 no. 1187. http://www.virtualcohen.com/antoninus-127 ja 128, retrieved 16.4.2014; Platner – Ashby 1929, 316, 321 and 325.; E. Rodríguez Almeida *LTUR* 1, 153–155 .v. Bacchus (Palatium). In the same series F. Pesando obviously supports the south-western corner of Palatium as the cult site of Bacchus. *LTUR* 3, 315 s.v. Murus Mustellinus.

168 Gasparri 1986, s.v. Bacchus in *LIMC* 3, 546, 563.

169 Zanker 1998, 111–114; Wiseman 2004, 225 and 237; For more details on the statue, see Plin. *nat*. 36, 29: "*Satyri quattuor, ex quibus unus Liberum patrem palla velatum umeris praefert, alter Liberam similiter, tertius ploratum infantis cohibet, quartus cratere alterius sitim sedat, duaeque Aurae velificantes sua veste.*"

170 Vitr.1,7,1: "*Apollini Patrique Libero secundum theatrum*".

171 Simon 1990, 29–30.

172 Vitr. 3,3,5.

173 Orlin 1997, 100–101. Orlin also suggests that the passage from Sibylline books does not support the Greek origin of the cult.

Bacchic themes on sarcophagi appeared during the early imperial age, and flourished during the second and third centuries AD. Most of them are from the city of Rome.[174]

3. The Name of the Divinity in Latin Sources

Within the time frame of this research, the sources refer to our divinity by various names. All the significant names, *Liber, Bacchus,* and *Dionysos/Dionysus*, were used by the Roman writers. In this chapter the etymology of these names, and the known passages in prose and poetry citing them, are considered in order to discover what kind of picture of our divinity we can derive from these sources.

To begin with, we should note that in addition to these three names there were also some other more rarely used names, such as *Iacchus* (Ἴακχος, from a hymn honouring the deity in Eleusis), *Bromius* (Βρόμιος, possibly meaning noisy or boisterous), and *Lyaeus* (Λυαῖος, loosener), with several of these being an epiclesis or epithet. As they mostly do not offer essential information about the divinity's appearance, they are not treated in depth in this study. Suffice it to say that Catullus did not hesitate associating *Iacchus* with *Liber*: *"At parte ex alia florens volitabat Iacchus cum thiaso satyrorum et Nysigenis silenis te quarens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore."* [175] He varied the names either *metri causa* or to emphasize the remoteness of the Golden Age, when gods visited men: *"Saepe vagus Liber Parnasi vertice summo Thyiadas effusis euantis crinibus egit, cum Delphi tota certatim ex urbe ruentes acciperent laeti divum fumantibus aris."*[176] The

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[174] Matz 1968, 84–85; Sichtermann 1982, 191; Zanker 1998, 114–117.

[175] Cat. 64,250–251. The verses 249–266 are about the finding of Ariadne, where the name Iacchus is used: *Quae tum prospectans cedentem maesta carinam multiplices animo volvebat saucia curas. ... quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant euhoe bacchantes, euhoe capita inflectentes. Harum pars tecta quatiebant cuspide thyrsos, pars e divulso iactabant membra iuvenco, pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant, pars obscura cavis celebrabant orgia cistis, orgia quae frustra cupiunt audire profani, plangebant aliae proceris tympana palmis aut tereti tenuis tinnitus aere ciebant, multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu. Talibus amplifice vestis decorata figuris pulvinar complexa suo velabat amictu.* "But on another part [of the tapestry] swift hastened the flushed Iacchus with his train of Satyrs and Nisa-begot Sileni, seeking you, Ariadne, and aflame with love for you. ...These scattered all around, an inspired band, rushed madly with mind all distraught, ranting 'Euhoe', with tossing of heads 'Euhoe'. Some with womanish hands shook thyrsi with wreath-covered points; some tossed limbs of a rended steer; some girded themselves with writhed snakes; some enacted obscure orgies with deep chests, orgies of which the profane vainly crave a hearing; others beat the tambours with outstretched palms, or from the burnished brass provoked shrill tinklings, blew raucous-sounding blasts from many horns, and the barbarous pipe droned forth horrible song." Translation by Leonard C. Smithers (1894). The images of the thiasus connected to the finding of Ariadne were visible in several Pompeian wall paintings.

[176] Catull. 64,390–393: "Often wandering Liber on topmost summit of Parnassus led his howling Thyiads

poet's image of Iacchus' Bacchants seeking Ariadne is even more full of action - perhaps even more so than is depicted in the Pompeian wall paintings analysed later in this study. Iacchus was borrowed from the mysteries of Eleusis, where that divinity was worshipped as the son of Zeus and Demeter, and could signify in Rome either the divinity himself or wine. Horace supplemented both *Bacchus* and *Liber* with Euhius, Lenaeus, the above mentioned Lyaeus, Bassareus, Thyoneus, and Semeleius. The epithets were in many cases formed because of geographical reasons, either because of a place of worship or the place of mythological origin, like Nysaeus, or other mythological reasons, such as the naming of the mother, Semele or Thyone. Some were formed because of different associated invocations, like Euhius. Bassareus was probably given because of the clothing worn by devotees, either made of animal skins (e.g. fox) or just long robes. Horace used the epithet *Pater* for festive occasions. It was given to Liber, though it was also the epithet of several other Roman gods, e.g. Saturnus, Romulus, and Mars, as well as Jupiter.[177] It was used already by Ennius for the divinity, though he used other names than Roman Liber: "*his erat in ore Bromius, his Bacchus Pater, illis Lyaeus*".[178] Much later, Macrobius even wrote that *Marspiter* and *Liber Pater* are considered by some people to be the same divinity, and a statue of Liber in Sparta had a spear and not a thyrsus.[179] The epithet *Pater* probably does not refer to the portrayal of the divinity, as it could already be portrayed as a youthful god, having Hellenistic influences. While describing probably the first Greek painting exhibited publicly in Rome, that of Aristides looted by Lucius Mummius, Pliny the Elder uses the name Liber Pater.[180]

For a period of over three hundred years Roman authors continuously felt the need to explain these different names. For example, both Ovid and Ausonius presented the whole list, referring to their respective uses. In the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid described the worship of Bacchus by both old and young women: *Parent matresque nurusque telasque calathosque infectaque pensa reponunt, turaque dant Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque*

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with loosely tossed locks, when the Delphians tumultuously trooping from the whole of their city joyously acclaimed the god with smoking altars." Translation by Leonard C. Smithers (1894). Catullus also uses Mavors for Mars. Even though the spelling *Mavors* is an older form, it appears in both prose and poetry, e.g. in Cic. *nat. deor*. 2,67 and Verg. *Aen*. 8,630.

177 Hor. *carm*. 1,18,6-7: *"Quis non te potius, Bacche Pater, teque, decens Venus? Ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,…"; carm. 3,3,13: "hac te merentem, Bacche Pater, tuae vexere tigres indocili iugum collo trahentes,"*; *ep*. 2,1,5–6: *"Romulus et Liber Pater et cum Castore Pollux, post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,…"*; Teivas Oksala suggests that *Pater* was used in the festive occasions. The god was mainly referred to when the topic was symposiastic, but also as a benefactor. Oksala 1973, 51 and 164–165. For the generous use of the epithet *Pater*, see e.g. Prinzen 1998, 106.

178 Jocelyn 1967, 267–268: in Attic drama the epithet pater was not given to Bacchus, but to Zeus. Ennius' play *Athamas* had some kind of an orgiastic scene.

179 Macr. *sat.* 1,19,1–5. The logic comes from the fact that wine's heat causes wars.

180 Plin. *nat.* 35,81; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 139–140.

Lyaeumque ignigenamque satumque iterum solumque bimatrem: additur his Nyseus indetonsusque Thyoneus, et cum Lenaeo genialis consitor uvae, Nycteliusque Eleleusque parens et Iacchus et Euhan, et quae praeterea per Graias plurima gentes nomina, Liber, habes.[181] In this list, Ovid shows the divinity's many names together. Some expressions refer to his birth, as his mother was put to death by his father Zeus' fire, and he was given a second mother and caused to be born twice. He was also *indetonsus*, unshorn, and long hair was an important feature of young Bacchus, as of Apollo, and was visible in many works of art. Ovid also referred to the wreath on Bacchus' head, e.g.: *Bacche levis leviorque tuis, quae tempora cingunt, frondibus*...[182] Some epithets in the list above refer to the Lenaia-festival, to the nocturnal rites and wild cries of his worshippers.[183] Ovid continued in the *Metamorphoses,* providing more information on the god's appearance: *Tibi enim inconsumpta iuventa est, tu puer aeternus, tu formosissimus alto conspiceris caelo, tibi, cum sine cornibus adstas, virgineum caput est. Oriens tibi victus, adusque decolor extremo qua tingitur India Gange: Penthea tu, venerande, bipenniferumque Lycurgum sacrilegos mactas, Tyrrhenaque mittis in aequor corpora, tu biiugum pictis insignia frenis colla premis lyncum; bacchae satyrique sequuntur, quique senex ferula titubantes ebrius artus sustinet et pando non fortiter haeret asello.*[184] This passage shows a good knowledge of the Greek myths, which were depicted visually as well. By this time, the normal way to depict the divinity was as a youth, and according to Ovid when not adorned with horns as very effeminate as well, although that was not entirely true for the Romans. Ovid provided more information in the *Fasti,* when describing the *Liberalia* celebrations: *restat, ut inveniam, quare toga libera detur Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo: sive quod ipse puer semper iuvenisque videris, et media est aetas in-*

[181] Ov. *met.* 4,9–17. "Mothers and youthful brides obeyed the priest; and putting by their wickers and their webs, dropt their unfinished toils to offer up frankincense to the God; invoking him with many names:—'O Bacchus! O Twice-born! O Fire-begot! Thou only child Twice-mothered! God of all those who plant the luscious grape! O Liber!' All these names and many more, for ages known—throughout the lands of Greece." Translated by Brookes More (1922). All the other women joined in the praise, except the three daughters of King Minya of Orkhomenos, whose punishment was to become mad and turn into bats in the end.

[182] Ov. *fast.* 3, 481–482. "Bacchus, thou light o' love! lighter than the leaves that wreathe thy brows!" Translated by James George Frazer (1931).

[183] Anderson 1997, 412–413.

[184] Ov. *met*. 4,17–27. "Thy youth is not consumed by wasting time; and lo, thou art an ever-youthful boy, most beautiful of all the Gods of Heaven, smooth as a virgin when thy horns are hid. The distant east to tawny India's clime, where rolls remotest Ganges to the sea, was conquered by thy might. O Most-revered! Thou didst destroy the doubting Pentheus, and hurled the sailors' bodies in the deep, and smote Lycurgus, wielder of the ax. 'And thou dost guide thy lynxes, double-yoked, with showy harness. Satyrs follow thee; and Bacchanals, and old Silenus, drunk, unsteady on his staff; jolting so rough on his small back-bent ass';" Translated by Brookes More (1922).

ter utrumque tibi".[185] The divinity was something between a boy and a youth, but still a *Pater*. The horns of a bull, in this case on his young head, were considered attractive: *ceperunt matrem formosi cornua tauri, me tua: at hic laudi est, ille pudendus amor*.[186] The love of Ariadne was considered to be better than that of Pasiphae, although horns were one reason in both cases. Bacchus, who had the horns or even the ears of an ox, was always a youth, and not a bearded adult.[187] Diodorus Siculus wrote, although in Greek, that the horned divinity was the son of Zeus and Persephone or Demeter, and he was the first to yoke oxen to the plough.[188] Tibullus describes Bacchus as an eternal youth with horns, from which hang grapes. In the poem, farmers attempt to acquire the gods' favour through their sacrifices: *"Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres."*[189] The model for many later works of art with horns may have been a statue of Dionysus in Elis, made by Praxiteles.[190]

Roman literature also provides evidence for understanding this variety of portrayals of the divinity. Macrobius, who writes "Dionysus qui est Liber Pater", gave some very learned comments on the images depicting him at different ages, and having different local epithets as the bearded and even elderly Liber is called*: uti Graeci eius quem Βασσαρέα, item quem Βρισέα appellant, et ut in Campania Neapolitani celebrant Ἥβωνα cognominantes.*[191]

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[185] Ov. *fast*. 3,773–774. "It remains for me to discover why the gown of liberty is given to boys, fair Bacchus, on thy day, whether it be because thou seemest ever to be a boy and a youth, and thy age is midway between the two; or it may be that, because thou art a father, fathers commend to thy care and divine keeping the pledges that they love, their sons." Translated by James George Frazer (1931).

[186] "The horns of a handsome bull won my mother's heart, a thine won mine. But my love was cause for praise: hers was shameful."Ov. *fast.* 3,499–500. Translated by James George Frazer (1931).

[187] Curtius 1882, 3 and 5; Welcker 1864, 37 ja 39; Gasparri 1986, 440–441 *LIMC* 3, 1 s.v. Dionysos; Lochi 2005, 41–42; Harari 2009, 171–172 *LIMC* Supplementum 1 s.v. Dionysos; Greek literature identifies both the image of Dionysus tauromorphos and the horns in the context of finding Ariadne and the Indian triumph. The *LIMC* gives examples having small horns, on coins or pieces of sculpture.

[188] Diod. Sic. 3, 64, 1–2. "And as a special symbol and token the painters and sculptors represented him with horns, at the same time making manifest thereby the other nature of Dionysus and also showing forth the magnitude of the service which he had devised for the farmers by his invention of the plough." Translated by C.H. Oldfather.

[189] Tib. 2, 1, 3–4. Bechi associated Bacchus with eternal youth in the poem, and with a beautiful young person in the painting. *MB* 1, tav. 29.

[190] Lochi 2005, 57, 101 discusses this cult statue ands several others with horns. Paus. 6, 26, 1 does not mention horns in Elis, though.

[191] Macr. *Sat.* 1,18,8–10. He explains that the background for the figures in different ages is a reference to the solar cycle. At the winter solstice the sun is like a small child, at the vernal equinox a youth, at the summer solstice a bearded man, and at the autumnal equinox an old man.

Ausonius wrote in his *Epigrammata de diversis rebus* that the inhabitants of the mythical island of Ogygia called the god Bacchus, the Indians Dionysus, the Romans Liber, and the Egyptians Osiris. He discussed the Latin and the Greek names *Liber*, *Bacchus,* and *Dionysus*, and others as well, referring to local differences in two of his epigrams, both called *Liber Pater*,[192] thus understanding the names as alternatives of a generic nature.[193] The theory of a common Indo-European background has been both supported and opposed. The significance of his role as *Liberator* is well covered in research literature: the Greek *Eleuthēr* and *Ἐλεύθερος*, the Thracian-Phrygian *Sabazios*, the Latin *Liber*, the Faliscan or Samnite *Loufir*, and the Umbrian *Vofionus* (**Leudhyon-*), the last examples also representing the same word stem. The parallel Latin forms *Loebasius* and *Lebasius* may be Sabine versions, while in Oscan *Lúvfreis* was used.[194] The Etruscan *Fufluns* is, however, related to Latin *populus*.[195]

Liber

Of the names used most often, *Liber* is the only Roman one. It has sometimes been given Greek equivalents and etymological models, such as the female form of *Libera*. In the early sources the variants were e.g. *Leiber*, *Leber,* and *Loebasius*, in dative *Lebro,* and in accusative *Loebesum*. As the origin of the name *Liber*, Indo-European *lib* has been suggested, from which the Latin word *libare (λείβειν in Greek) was derived.*[196] In more recent research, it has been proposed that the Oscan forms (*-eu-* or *-ou-*) would

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[192] "*Ogygia me Bacchum vocat, Osirin Aegyptos putat, mystae Phanacem nominant, Dionyson Indi existimant,, Romana sacra Liberum, Arabica gens Adoneum, Lucaniacus Pantheum*." Auson. 30,4 (or epigram 48 and the shorter Greek 49). Ausonius' epigrams show that a variety of names were used as late as the 300s BC. The headings of the poems are not necessarily from the same period.

[193] Some authors gave a short explanation about Liber being Greek Dionysos/Dionysus. E.g. in *Fabulae* 167,3, supposedly written by Hyginus and dated some time after the 2nd century AD, Semele is depicted as follows: "*Ex utero eius Liber est natus, quem Mercurius ab igne ereptum Nyso dedit educandum, et Graece Dionysus est appellatus;*" the rest of the text uses the forms Liber and Liber Pater. Festus gives the following explanation of the Liberalia festivities: "*Liberalia Liberi festa, quae apud Graecos dicuntur* Διονύσια," Paul. Fest. 116. Macrobius mostly uses Latin forms and explains his exceptions: "*Dionysus qui est Liber Pater…*" Macr. *Sat.* 1,18,8.

[194] Sabine origins were mentioned by grammarian Servius in about 400: *Quamvis Sabini Cererem Pandam appellent, Liberum Loebasium, dictu m autem, quia graece* λοιβή *dicitur res divina. Vel ideo simul Liberum et Cererem posuit, quia et templa eis simul posita sunt et ludi simul eduntur.* Serv. *Georg.* 1,7; Ernout – Meillet [1960], 355.

[195] Puhvel 1964, 164–165.

[196] Wissowa 1902, 244; Forcellini – Perin (*Onomasticon* 6) 1940, 112; J. Toutain, s.v. Liber Pater (Daremberg – Saglio) 1189–1191; Gasparri 1986, 540 *LIMC* 3 : 1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus.

exclude the connexion with the words libo/λείβω. No final verdict has been reached, however.[197]

The etymology of *Liber* was contemplated already by Roman authors. Cicero established his opinion on the adjective *liber* and its derivative *liberi* (children) thusly: "*Se quod ex nobis natos liberos appellamus, idcirco Cerere nati nominati sunt Liber et Libera*". In the same context, Cicero clearly differentiates between the Liber borne of Semele and the Liber worshipped by Roman forefathers together with Ceres and Libera*:"…hinc Liber etiam (hunc dico Liberum Semela natum, non eum quem nostri maiores auguste sancteque Liberum cum Cerere et Libera consecraverunt, quod quale sit ex mysteriis intellegi potest;...*"[198] Seneca argued for the same adjective, but differently, as *Liber* liberates from worries and makes a person bolder: *"Liberque non ob licentiam linguae dictus est inventor vini, sed quia liberat servitio curarum animum, et adserit vegetatque et audaciorem in omnis conatus facit.*"[199] Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, written in the early 5th century AD, contained information from earlier periods and writers, and presented several alternative forms, of which an interesting point of view comes from Laevius, *"Liber a Romanis appellatur, quod liber et vagus est…Hac qua sol vagus igneas habenas immittit propius iugatque terrae,"*[200] thus proposing "strolling" as the origin of the name. Christian writers' remarks reflected the same idea: Paulus Diaconus, using Festus as his source, claimed that the name was derived from the excessively liberated speech produced by excessive wine. While describing *Liberalia*, the feast celebrating the maturation of boys to manhood, Festus for his part quoted Naevius: "*Libera lingua loquimur ludis Liberalibus*", and Augustine quoted Varro when describing the fertility cult, and the Liber that made both males and plants fertile. He also considered the cult indecent, owing to the processions in which a phallus was carried to the altars by the rural crossroads, and even further into towns.[201] In

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[197] Ernout – Meillet [1960], 355; Wyler 2006a, 49–51.

[198] Cic. *nat. deor*. 2,62: "and also of Liber (I mean Liber the son of Semele, not the Liber whom our ancestors solemnly and devoutly consecrated with Ceres and Libera, the import of which joint consecration may be gathered from the mysteries; but Liber and Libera were so named as Ceres' offspring, that being the meaning of our Latin word liberi—a use which has survived in the case of Libera but not of Liber)…" Translated by H. Rackham (1933).

[199] Sen. *dial.* 9,17,8. "and the inventor of wine is not called the Releaser [Liber] on account of the licence it gives to the tongue, but because it frees the mind from bondage to cares and emancipates it and gives it new life and makes it bolder in all that it attempts." Translated by John W. Basore (1932). *De Tranquillitate Animi* recommends walking in the fresh air and travelling before drinking in order to refresh one's mind.

[200] Macr. *Sat.* 1,18,16: "The Romans call the god Liber because he wanders free [liber]… Along the way where the wandering sun lets loose his fiery reins and yokes his team closer to earth." Translated by Robert A. Kaster (2011).

[201] Fest. 115–116; Aug. *civ.* 6,9; 7,2; 7,21 and 16,4; Mothers and phallus were connected with fertility in agriculture.

Lavinium a whole month was dedicated to Liber, and Varro may have participated himself in a feast.[202]

In Latin literature, Plautus may provide the earliest known reference to the god's name in *Stichus*,[203] performed in 200 BC and based on a theme by Menander. It occurs in a discussion between Stichus and Sangarinus, with Stichus asking "*Utrum Fontine an Libero imperium te inhibere mavis?* and Sangarinus answering *"Nimio liquido Libero*." *Liber* could have been used here metonymically, with a reference to wine. Some decades later, in 161 BC, Terence wrote in his *Eunuchus* about gifts received from three gods, one of which was clearly wine: "*Verbum hercle hoc verum est; sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*;" Cicero later used this passage as an example of the gods' good gifts to people.[204] Ennius, for his part, referred to Thrace in connexion to Liber: "*O terra Thraeca, ubi Liberi fanum inclutum Maro locavit;*" Maron, a priest of Apollo, had given wine to Odysseus and was later associated with Dionysus, with a well-known cult site being situated in Maroneia in Thrace.[205]

Virgil used the name *Liber* relatively often. He had taken part in Augustan antibacchic propaganda, but also started the rehabilitation of the divinity.[206] While describing Rome's future greatness, he states that Augustus is going to start a new Golden Age - his realm is going to reach more remote areas than the journeys of Alcides (i.e Alceus' grandson Hercules) and Liber. "*Nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.*"[207] Liber also appeared already in the earlier Bucolics, when the shepherd Thyrsis, complaining about the scorching sun, said that Liber was not even providing the shade of a vine: *Liber pampineas inuidit collibus umbras*. His companion Corydon, in the same passage, uses the name *Iac-*

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[202] Bruhl, 1953, 18–19; Stek 2009, 196, 201–212, ponders the origin of the *Compitalia,* and also concludes that Liber's festival was of urban origin, even though the phallus was carried through the countryside to towns. The best surviving archaeological evidence with regard to the Compitalia comes from Roman merchants' houses on Delos, not from Italy, but some *compitum* shrines or their images have been found in Rome, Pompeii, and Ostia, the earliest from the 2nd century BC. These festivities in Campania were also poltically and probably culturally influenced by Rome. As no *compitum* type of shrines have been identified in the countryside, mainly because of their perishable material, he considers that these festivals could also have been held at some old Italic shrines.

[203] Plaut. *Stich*. 699–700. Stichus and Sangarinus' discussions, act 5, scene 4: Stichus: "*Utrum Fontine an Libero imperium te inhibere mavis?* Sagarinus*: Nimio liquido Libero*."

[204] Ter. *Eun.* 4,5,6; Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,60.

[205] Enn. *scen.* 388–389.

[206] Smith 2007, 54–55, 61, 73–84.

[207] Verg. *Aen*. 6,(791–)804–805; Vergilius frequently uses the word *pampineus* basing it on his own word *pampinus*. The reference to a chariot in line 804 is clear, but line 805 can also refer to hunting, and the events of Aeneas' hunting expedition in the 4th book of the Aeneid. Weber 2002, 327 and 333; Smith 2007, 52–54.

chus, *Populus Alcidae gratissima, uitis Iaccho*,[208] without differentiating between the names.

Cicero associated *Liber*'s origin with Jupiter, and listed him among those deified because of their merits.[209] Vitruvius referred frequently to Liber, usually in connection to Greek temples, such as the temple in Ionian Teos and the porticoes near the temple of Dionysus in Athens.[210] Pliny the Elder, for his part, pointed out Liber's connexion with Campania, "*Hinc felix illa Campania, ab hoc sinu incipiunt vitiferi colles et temulentia nobilis suco per omnes terras incluto atque, ut veteres dixere, summum Liberi Patris cum Cerere certamen,*[211] describing Mount Vesuvius with its vines as the location of the contest between Liber and Ceres. Martial developed this idea in his poem 4,44, describing the Vesuvian landscape after the destruction (using *Bacchus*, though): "*Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius umbris, presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus: haec iuga quam Nysae colles plus Bacchus amavit; hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros; haec*

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[208] Verg. *ecl.*7,58 and 61. ("The field is parched; the grass is athirst, dying in the tainted air;) Bacchus has grudged the hills the shade of his vines" and "Dearest is the poplar to Alcides, the vine to Bacchus…" Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough (1999). As one can see, the translators use the name which suits them best.

[209] Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,53:" *Dicamus igitur Balbe oportet contra illos etiam, qui hos deos ex hominum genere in caelum translatos non re sed opinione esse dicunt, quos auguste omnes sancteque veneramur. Principio Ioves tres numerant i qui theologi nominantur, ex quibus primum et secundum natos in Arcadia, alterum patre Aethere, ex quo etiam Proserpinam natam ferunt et Liberum, alterum patre Caelo, qui genuisse Minervam dicitur, quam principem et inventricem belli ferunt, tertium Cretensem Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur.* "; Cic. *leg.* 2,19:" *Divos et eos qui caelestes semper habiti sunt colunto et ollos quos endo caelo merita locaverint, Herculem, Liberum, Aesculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum, ast olla propter quae datur hominibus ascensus in caelum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunto nec ulla vitiorum sacra sollemnia obeunto.* "They shall worship as gods both those who have always been regarded as dwellers in heaven, and also those whose merits have admitted them to heaven; Hercules, Liber, Aesculapius, Castor, Pollux, Quirinus; also those qualities through which an ascent to heaven is granted to mankind: Intellect, Virtue, Piety. Good Faith. To their praise there shall be shrines, but none for the vices." Translated by Clinton W. Keyes (1928).

[210] Vitr. 3,3,8 presents the dimensions between the columns. The best model is *eustylos*, already mentioned in the temple situated in Teos*: Huius exemplar Romae nullum habemus, sed in Asia Teo hexastylon Liberi Patris*. Vitr. 5,9,1 discusses the porticoes attached to theatre. The theatre of Dionysus in Athens with its adjoining temples is one of those mentioned: *Post scaenam porticus sunt constituendae, uti, cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus, quo se recipiat ex theatro, choragiaque laxamentum habeant ad comparandum. uti sunt porticus Pompeianae, itemque Athenis porticus Eumenicae Patrisque Liberi fanum et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte odeum, quod Themistocles columnis lapideis dispositis navium malis et antemnis e spoliis Persicis pertexit (ideo autem etiam incensum Mithridatico bello rex Ariobarzanes restituit)*. Vitr. 3,3,1 and 4,3, 1 and 7, praef. 12 also discuss the temple of Teos.

[211] Plin. *nat.* 3,60: "Then comes the favoured country of Campania; in this valley begin those vine-clad hills with their glorious wine and wassail, famous all the world over, and (as old writers have said) the scene of the severest competition between Father Liber and Ceres." Translated by H. Rackham (1942).

Veneris sedes, Lacedaemone gratior illi; his locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat. Cuncta iacent flammis et tristi mersa favilla: nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi."[212] According to the poet, the region was even dearer to the divinity than Mount Nysa, the place of his birth. The same idea of an environment associated with Liber appears in the *Mosella* of Ausonius: "*Tales Cumano despectat in aequore ludos Liber, sulphurei cum per iuga consita Gauri Perque vaporiferi graditur vineta Vesevi,…*".[213] The name Liber was alive still in the 4th century, referring to a river and its vines (Mosel in German) in distant Germania.

Liber was used also as a cognomen and a slave name. The reason for choosing the name could be a reference to being born of a free father (*a libero patre*), or to having been freed, rather than to any predilection for the god himself.[214] One reason for looking for other uses here is the use of the names either in *graffiti* or *dipinti* in Pompeii. In each case the context is important.

Bacchus

The etymology of the name *Bacchus* (Βάκχος) is also disputable. It is most probably Greek, but could alternatively be derived from the utterance βά βά, from the shout Ἴακχος, or from the name Bacche, of baby Bacchus' wet nurse. A more recent explanation is that it derives from the branch that the god carries.[215] Further, it could even be derived from an unknown Phrygian or Lydian word,[216] thus emphasizing the idea of exotic and oriental influences. In Rome, the name Bacchus appears later than the words derived from it that refer to the cult; the early date of the adoption of the loan word may also explain the variety of spellings, e.g. Bacus, Baca, Bacanal.[217] According to Varro,

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[212] Mart. 4,44: "This is Vesuvius, but lately green with shade of vines. Here the noble grape loaded the vats to overflowing. These slopes were more dear to Bacchus than Nysa's hills, on this mountain not long ago Satyrs held their dances. This was Venus' dwelling, more pleasing to her than Lacedaemon, this spot the name of Hercules made famous. All lies sunk in flames and drear ashes. The High Ones themselves would rather this had not been in their power." Translated by D.R. Shackleton Bailey (1993); for the interpretation of these lines e.g. Hamdorf 1986, 98; Foster 2001, 48.

[213] Auson. *mos*. 207–208: "As those games which Liber beholds on the Cumaean tide, whenas he walks abroad over the planted hills of reeking Gaurus, or passes through the vineyards of smoke-plumed Vesuvius…" Translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White (1919); Gigante 1998, 217–218.

[214] Forcellini – De-Vit (*Onomasticon* 4) 1887–1892, 120–121; Forcellini – Perin (*Onomasticon 6*) 1940, 113. *Libertus* means a freedman.

[215] The branch will change into a thyrsus. von Papen 1905, 10–12, 15–21, 29–36.

[216] "A (prob. Lydian) vegetation god, identified with Dionysus and Liber." *OLD*, s.v. Bacchus 223.

[217] For all the etymologies, and also for the eastern influences which were sought for the name earlier, cf. Forcellini – De-Vit (*Onomasticon* 6) 1859–1867, 649; Otto 1965, 60; Cole 2007, 327.

the god himself was called *Liber,* but the females in his company, his priestesses, the initiated, and even other women were known (in the singular) as a Baccha or Bacche; and furthermore, that Bacca meant wine in Hispania.[218] The prohibition of Bacchanals by the Senate in 186 BC represents an early usage of a derivative of the god's name. The word Bacchanal can mean both a place and festivities (orgies).[219] Plautus used it as a place in *Aulularia* and *Bacchides* (ca. 255/250–184), both plays having precedents in Menander's works.[220] Depending on the text editor's interpretation, Plautus may have used the name Bacchus for the god for the first time in *Menaechmi*: Menaechmus Sosicles pretends to be mad and starts to address Bacchus: "*Euhoe Bacche, Bromie, quo me in silvam venatum vocas? Audio, sed non abire possum ab his regionibus, ita illa me ab laeva rabiosa femina adservat canis, poste autem illinc hircus † alus, qui saepe aetate in sua perdidit civem innocentem falso testimonio.*"[221] Alternatively, Plautus never used this name, and Euhoe is repeated twice in its place.[222] Other editorial variations include e.g. *eubi*, *eum,* and *heu*.[223]

Bacchus, with its derivations in connexion to wine, appears in two fragments by Ennius. In *Athamas*: "*His erat in ore Bromius, his Bacchus Pater, Illis Lyaeus vitis inventor sacrae: Tum pariter euhan euhoe euhoe euhium. Ignatus iuvenum coetus altera vice Inibat, alacris Bacchico insultans modo.*"[224] Vine and fertility are mentioned in *Eumenides*, when Minerva praises the beauty of nature: "*Vites laetificae pampinis pubescere, Rami bacarum ubertate incurvescere, Segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia, Fontes scatere, herbis prata convestirier.*"[225] Later, several other writers distinguished between many

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[218] Varro *ling.* 7,87: *Bacchi, qui et Liber, cuius comites a Baccho Bacchae, et vinum in Hispania bacca.*

[219] *OLD*, s.v. Bacchanal and Bacchanalia 222–223 differentiates between the words *Bacchanal –lis* n. and *Bacchanalia –lium* n. pl, the singular form meaning a cult site and the plural one a festivity or orgy; both meanings occur in the Senate's decision *CIL* I² 581. Jean-Marie Pailler has analysed Livius' use of *Bacchanalia,* which occurs eight times in plural, and its relation to the use in inscriptions. He also introduces the meaning of the word for groups that practice rites in certain places. Pailler 1995, 159–168. In the inscription, the cult site is also in the plural, together with two cult sites in the singular.

[220] Plaut. *Aul.* 408–412: "*Neque ego umquam nisi hodie ad Bacchas veni in Bacchanal coquinatum, ita me miserum et meos discipulos fustibus male contuderunt. Totus doleo atque oppido perii, ita me iste habuit senex gymnasium; attat, perii hercle ego miser, aperit bacchanal, adest, sequitur.*"; Plaut. *Bacch*. 53: "*Quia, Bacchis, bacchas metuo et bacchanal tuom.*"

[221] Plaut. *Men.* 835–839, F. Leo, *Plavti comoediae,* Berolini 1895.

[222] Pailler 1988, 230–231. "*Euhoe, Euhoe, Bromie…*".

[223] For alternative ways of reading, cf. F. Ritschelius – F. Schoell, Lipsiae 1889: "*Euhan, euhoe, Bromie…*"; G. Goetz – F. Schoell, Lipsiae 1895: "†*Eubi atque heu Bromie…*"; W.M. Lindsay, Oxford 1903: "*Euhoe, atque euhoe, Bromie…*"; H.N. Fowler, Chigago - New York - Boston 1927: "*Euoe Bacche: heu, Bromie…*"; A. Ernout, Paris 1936: "†*Eubi atque heu*† *Bromie…*".

[224] Enn. *scen.*123–127. *Euhoe euhoe* has been added to complete the meter suitably.

[225] Enn. *scen.* 152–155.

Bacchi when using this name, of different origins in Greece or in the Orient, which is an example of the continuous issues with the different genealogies. It is clear that the divinity was mainly considered to be young, and as having long hair. As Tibullus puts it: *solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas: nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum*.[226]Of great importance is this comparison to Apollo; it is in fact difficult to distinguish between the portrayal of these two gods in Pompeian wall paintings without the presence of precise attributes.

Dionysos/Dionysus

In the Italic area, the name Dionysus was considered the most Greek, and remained in infrequent use. The spelling varied from Dionysos to Dionisus, Dionusus, and Dionyssus. Latin texts (or at least the later manuscripts) also spelled the name with Greek letters, as Διὸνυσος. Mount Nysa, where Dionysus had been born and raised, has been seen in the form of this name: the nymph (although later the number grew to three) who cared for the infant Dionysus was assumed to have been called Nysa. Thus, the name Dionysos could derive from Dio + Nysos, i.e. divine Nysos, or Zeus' Nysos, but the significance of νῦσος itself remains unclear.[227] The Greeks themselves may have already supported the idea of Dionysus as Zeus' son.[228] Macrobius quoted several sources for another alternative origin of the word: Dioynysus was the νοῦς, the mind of god [Zeus],"*Physici Διόννσον Διὸς νοῦν, qui solem mundi mentem esse dixerunt*".[229]

Plautus used the name for the first time in *Stichus* in ca. 200 BC, referring, however, to wine given to Stichus by his master.[230] Accius somewhat later used the name in his tragedy *Bacchae,* based on the play by Euripides. "*O Dionyse Pater optime vitisator, Semela Genitus Euhia*."[231] In this case, Dionysus is also associated with wine, and was

[226] Tib. 1,4,37–38: "Only Bacchus and Phoebus have youth everlasting; of either god are unshorn tresses the glory." Translated by F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate & J. W. Mackail (1913).

[227] Forcellini – Perin (*Onomasticon* 5) 1940, 489; Otto 1965, 61.

[228] Puhvel 1964, 163; Burkert 1977, 253; other theories were also raised during the Antiquity. One of them is referred to by Diodorus Siculus, who says that some consider that Dionysus means the gift of wine (Diod. Sic. 3,62,2).

[229] Macr. *sat.* 1,18,15: "The physical scientists say Dionysus is 'the mind of Zeus', – and the text continues: "…claiming that the sun is the mind of the cosmic order, which is called 'the heavens', which in turn is addressed as Jupiter." Translated by Robert A. Kaster (2011).

[230] Plaut. *Stich.* 660- 665. Stichus' speech in act 5, where slaves are planning a feast together: "*Euge, Sangarine lepidissume. Fero convivam Dionysum mihique et tibi. Namque edepol cena cocta est, locus liber datust mihi et tibi apud vos (nam apud nos est convivium, ibi voster cenat cum uxore adeo et Antipho, ibidem erus est noster), hoc mihi dono datumst.*"

[231] Acc. *trag.* 241–242. Quotation from Macr. *Sat.* 6,5,11.

referred to by the term *vitisator*, vine planter. Virgil used the same word, but his planter was called Sabinus,[232] thus obviously with a connection to Italic traditions. Cicero in his *De natura deorum* listed many gods with the same names, referring to older sources. He starts with three Jupiters, and proceeds to gods worshipped in different parts of the Graeco-Roman world. He gives five different Dionysi: "*Dionysos multos habemus, primum Iove et Proserpina natum, secundum Nilo, qui Nysam dicitur interemisse, tertium Cabiro patre, eumque regem Asiae praefuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt instituta, quartum Iove et Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur confici, quintum Nyso natum et Thyone, a quo trieterides constitutae putantur*."[233] Interestingly, the name of Semele does not appear at all, even if several alternative parents are given. For Cicero, the Greek divinity was different than the native one.[234] However, his negative attitude towards Greek culture was also seen in his attitude towards Mark Antony.[235] Names deriving from Dionysus were used as mortal names, with Dionysius being common for slaves and freedmen. For example, Quintus Hebenus Dionisus, a rare form without the *i*, was a freedman living in the first century, i.e. in the time frame of our prime interest; the other known *Dionisi* occurred later.[236]

To conclude, in Latin literature the Romans both distinguished between and mixed together the many names of the divinity. They obviously recognized the differences in cultic traditions, but due to not understanding them thoroughly they varied the names of the divinity. In comedy, the three names could be referred to derogatorily, e.g. in Plautus' *Menaechmi,* where Menaechmus Sosicles addressed the god either as Bacchus or as *Bromius* during his faked madness.[237] Varro's description, handed down by Augustine, is either about the cult of Italic *Liber* before his possible identification as Dio-

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[232] Verg. *Aen*. 7, 179; Vergilius used the play by Accius as his own model. Cf. Mac Góráin 2013, 133.

[233] Cic. *nat.deor.* 3,58. In Cicero's list of five Dionysi, the first one is the descendant of Jupiter and Proserpina, who was the founder of agriculture and wine. The fourth was the descendant of Jupiter, Luna, or Semele with links to Orphic mysteries. Jean-Marie Pailler considered that the reason for this family background was the cult of Ceres, which underwent changes during the 3rd century BC. In this mystery cult, Ceres was worshipped as a mother goddess. Ceres could also be understood as Liber's mother. Pailler 1988, 465

[234] *De legibus* suggests a Greek Liber instead. Cicero does not link Iacchus and Zabasius with Liber either. Cic. *leg.* 2,19 and 2,35 and 2,37. He seem to have chosen the names he respectively used directly from his sources. Pailler sees that Cicero regarded the mysteries of Ceres and Iacchus-Dionysus as good ones, and the bacchanals as evil ones, that the forefathers wisely rejected. Nocturnal bacchanals were dangerous, unlike those in the daylight, though they might have had a common background. Pailler 1988, 465.

[235] Smith 2007, 55–56.

[236] Solin 2003, 332. The form *Dionisus* appears in an inscription on a golden tile from Dacia, with corresponding forms also appearing in other provinces.*CIL* III 8080: QVIRILLVS ET DIONISVS. The tiles were found in Transylvania in 1887.

[237] Plaut. *Men.* 835, 840–841.

nysus-Bacchus in 493 BC, or is based on the Greek rites of Dionysus.[238] It is clear that this syncretism, the merging of Greek and Roman traditions, had already started in the late 3rd century BC, although it is not possible to specify the exact time. The comedies described the worshippers of the innovative Bacchic cult of that time.[239] All of the god's primary names, or their derivations, were in use. Later, the poets in Augustus' time did not favour the name Dionysus. Metrically it should not have caused problems, as Bacchus and Liber are of similar syllabic lengths, and Dionysus/Dionysos would have been suitable for hexameter, for example.[240] Their use did not cause problems earlier, nor later, but there might have been a moral choice in the background; Augustus may have wanted to show that Mark Antony's performance as Dionysus when returning from the east was an example of his immoral oriental desire for luxury. Perhaps that is why Dionysus, with its distinct Greek flavour, did not fit into Augustus' plan to elevate public morals. Under these circumstances, *Bacchus* was considered more Roman. Virgil took part in Augustus' campaign in favour of a more domestic god, using both *Bacchus* and *Liber*, and later participated in his rehabilitation. Bacchus as a dualistic figure was presented already in the Homeric hymn 7 to Dionysus, and this feature was followed both by Virgil and Horace. He was both a severe punisher and a gentle benefactor, in the same way as Octavian wanted to be remembered.[241]

The portrayal of the divinity, according to the ancient Latin authors, was mainly as a youth, although horned and infant representations were also known. The horns were linked to his portrayal as a youth, and as someone who could be effeminate as well. The long hair sometimes made Bacchus appear similar to Apollo. The other attributes, such as the thyrsus and wreaths, were of common knowledge. To indicate the *imported Dionysus*, the sources most often used *Liber* or *Bacchus*. There are only a few cases where the old Italic *Liber* can be discerned without a connection to the Greek *Dionysus*.[242]

4. Liber – Bacchus Inscriptions in Pompeii

There are only three inscriptions pertaining to *Liber,* and only one to *Bacchus,* in Pompeii. They are all in different regions of the town, both in public and private places.

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238 Green 1963, 444.

239 Rousselle 1987, 194–195, 197–198.

240 Lewis – Short, 583. "*Dĭŏnȳsus or -os, i, m., = Διόνυσος,* I. *the Greek name of Bacchus (not in the Aug. poets).*"

241 Mac Góráin 2013, 124–126, 130–131, 136–137, 143–145.

242 Bruhl 1953, 13.

A set of several graffiti were inscribed on the northern side of the Vico dei Soprastanti, west of the Capitolium, on the outer wall of a commercial establishment (VII 6, 34–35).[243] The graffiti were scratched between two doors and on both sides of them. On the right hand side there was also a wall painting depicting Bacchus, and below his right foot two words, LIB on top of LIBER, were inscribed (*CIL* IV 1626). The immediate connection with the painting, now entirely destroyed, confirms that the names indicated the god himself (C11).[244] Elsewhere on the same wall *Lucretio* was written in small cursive. This name occurred frequently in Pompeii, unlike Afidenus, which was written beside it with capital letters.[245]

The second graffito containing the name *Liber* (*CIL* IV 10068) was discovered north of the Palaestra in a small room on the northeastern side of House II 3, 4–6, opening into a large garden on the southern side.[246] Below a plain, whitewashed lararium and behind an altar there was a longish graffito with three lines in larger letters and two with smaller ones below. According to Matteo Della Corte, the damaged text should be interpreted as *M. Servius Copystor* (vel *Cotystor*) *M. f. tene*[r]*e(?) vellem(?) positurum* (pro *ponendum ?) Libe*[*r*]*um* / [ ] *dono et munere fungi* / [ ] *votis* [$^{\pm 3-}$] *omnia sancta dat* / [ ] *ne*[*cess*]*arii hic esse vel*[*i*]*mus* / [ ] *adibis*.[247] The verse could rather be *dono et munere iungi*/*votis …omina sancta,* and there are some other problems as well.[248] The room was clearly a *sacellum*. The altar has volutes, and forms a very imposing structure with the lararium aedicula in the back wall.[249] Della Corte claimed that

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[243] "Inter decimum et undecimum ostium a *vicoletto delle terme* occidentem versus, in qua pila est Bacchi pictura," *CIL* IV 1626–1634.

[244] *CIL* IV 1626; Diehl 1930, *PWV*, no. 16; The other graffiti near the painting were written by different hands and contained names such as AFIDENVS, LVCRETIO, ROMVLVS, Fröhlich 1991, 327, no. F51; Sampaolo 1997, 207–209 (*PPM* 7); The house has even been considered to be a lupanar, but there is no real evidence for that.

[245] Castrén 1975, 141, 185–186. The name of Lucretius cannot be connected e.g. with the house of Marcus Lucretius (IX 3, 5.24) and its Bacchic wall paintings.

[246] A. de Vos, 1991, 179–180 (*PPM* 3), separates the building as II 3,6 and gives a room number 1. The sacellum floor is on a higher level than the garden. There is no dating for the plaster; in the House II 3,4.5 some spaces were redecorated in the Fourth style, e.g. ala 5.

[247] Della Corte 1958, 114–115, no. 187, 'Pompei – Iscrizioni scoperti nel quinquennio 1951–1956' in *NSA* 1958, 77–184, also *CIL* IV, suppl. 3 with this new reading.

[248] Solin 1973, 269, '*CIL* IV Suppl. 3. Lfg. 3.4' in *Gnomon* 45 (1973). He also consideres the name of the donator unusual, being more probably *Cotys,* and the place of the filiation is not typical, placed after a cognomen. – The sentence is incomplete, and a rude translation could be: I Marcus Servius Cotys…, son of Marcus, would like to keep the image of Liber here/ … and to function as a gift offering./ [It would] receive vows and give sacred omens./ Let them be necessary here/ … approach.

[249] Eschebach 1993, 90–91: sacellum (house 4 though; in possible caupona 6 nothing recognizable); Orr 1972, 172, no. 64: "A sacellum room provided with a stuccoed rubble masonry altar and the remains of an

the inscription was a dedication of the lararium, like a votum to the Lares nearby, but his religious interpretation has been challenged by claims that the contents were, oddly enough, more probably erotic.[250] The large garden (II 3,6) associated with this sacellum was almost separate from the other parts of the house, with the main entrance (II 3,4) to the Via dell' Abbondanza. The property was perhaps a commercial one, like the other large garden area on the southern side of the insula which has an open garden triclinium (Nicanor's restaurant). The Vicolo di Giulia Felice on the eastern side of the insula II 3 was quite peaceful, with only a few doors, two to these gardens and three to the building on the opposite side II 4, which is an entertainment complex (Praedia Iuliae Felicis). The southern garden restaurant has another door (II 3,9) towards the palaestra and the wider spaces around the amphitheatre, from which it probably wanted to attract customers.

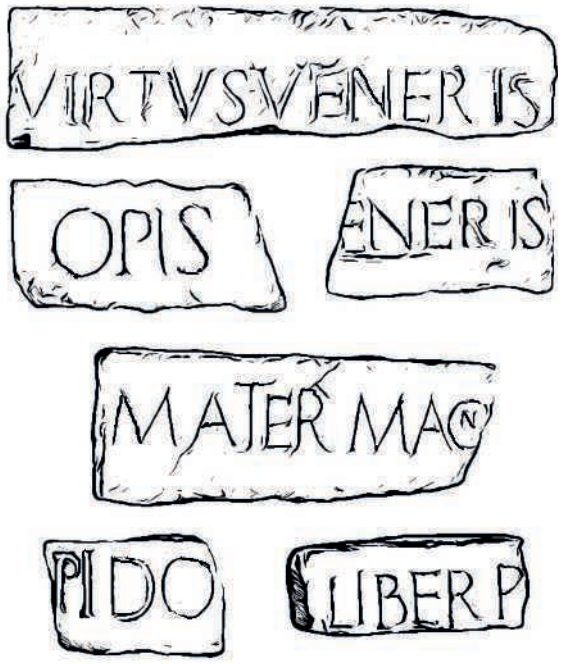
The third case comes from the portico of the temple of Venus, the patroness of Pompeii. The names of several divinities were inscribed on individual slabs of white Carrara marble. In addition to LIBER P[ater], there was also *Virtus Veneris*, [*Honos V*]*eneris*, *Opis*, *Mater Magn*[*a*], and [*Cu*]*pido,* which probably referred to the statues that decorated the portico but were destroyed in the earthquake of 62. They were found in a Flavian dump.[251] The inscriptions have been dated to the Augustan or the early Julio-Claudian periods, when the quarries of Carrara were taken into wider use. It has been argued that Liber Pater may have been included in the group for decorative reasons only, as he was the only one of these deities with a temple of his own; in which case the others would have been associated with Venus.[252] Another alternative would be to divide the names within their respective associations, into two or even three groups. One would have probably been comprised of Virtus Veneris, Honos Veneris, and Cupido, in accordance with the main protagonist of the portico, and the second of Opis (or Ops) with Liber Pater, both representing old Roman divinities (which had become favoured again by Augustus), and the third of Magna Mater, belonging to the oriental latecomers in Pompeii. The combination could also reflect the Augustan situation in Rome on the Palatine hill, when Bacchus probably became venerated near the temple of Magna Ma-

aedicula shrine is located just to the right of entrance No. 6. ... The shrine is stuccoed and painted but no figural decoration is present."Orr was not permitted to study the shrine for his dissertation, so there are no measurements for the niche and altar, as there are in most cases.

250 Solin 1973, 273, thought that the graffito was probably not cultic but erotic. The room is not considered a sacellum or sacrarium by several scholars (e.g. Bassani 2008), though it is really structured as one. Della Corte and later Wyler (2013, 54) considered the room to be a taberna. A fine marble statuette of Venus (P 9926) was found in the house in a square niche in the other room, opening onto the large garden, and there was also an ithyphallic tufa statuette (P10017). Cf. Jashemski 1993, 84–85 who considered the room to be a sacellum.

251 *AE* 2008 324–329. They were made by various craftsmen over a longer time period.

252 Curti 2008a, 58; idem 2008b, 74; De Simone 2011, 303; Gregori – Nonnis 2016, 252.



The inscriptions discovered in the temple of Venus in Pompeii.

ter. The cult of Loufir could also have been present in this location in Pompeii since the third century BC, not only in the first century AD when this inscription for the statue of Liber Pater was made.[253]

It should be noted that Liber also appears very seldom in the larger area around Pompeii; an inscription with the abbreviated name LIB and connected to Venus and Hercules (*AE* 1922, 101) is known from Boscoreale, Contrada Pisanella in the Villa of Numerius Popidius Florus: inscribed on a marble slab *N(umerius) Popidius Florus Ven(eri) Lib(ero) Her(culi)*. The triad of the three divinities contain the patrons of Pompeii and Herculaneum, adding to them the protector of the vine, the main agricultural plant of the slopes of Vesuvius, which Popidius Florus was growing in his villa rustica. The inscription was on an altar by the eastern pluteum wall of a garden which was also used to store wine in several dolia. Another dedication venerates Jupiter on an altar by the south wall.[254] The *Popidii* were an indigenous Pompeian family who were very important in pre-Roman times, and also between the Roman conquest and the colonization, and again during the last period. One branch of the family, of a servile origin, rebuilt the temple of Isis after the earthquake and decorated it with a statue of young Bacchus H6.[255]

The only case that can be connected to Bacchus comes from the house of the Vettii (VI 15, 1.27), by the Vico di Mercurio. On the southern side of the outer wall,

[253] Wyler 2013, 53.

[254] Della Corte 1921, 443–445; Della Corte 1954, 373 (no. 1005); Fergola 2002, 108, 110; De Simone 2011, 295; Wyler 2013, 53–54, note 37; Gregori – Nonnis 2016, 250, 253. The villa was excavated in 1906. These marble slabs are now in the Antiquarium di Boscoreale, inv. 34149 and 34156. For the agricultural rituals honouring Liber and Libera, see also Wyler 2014, 62–63.

[255] Castrén 1975, 207–209. The rebuilding was done by a freedman, N. Popidius Ampliatus, in the name of his son N. Popidius Celsinus, *CIL* X 846 and 847.

The inscription from Boscoreale, Contrada Pisanella in the Villa of Numerius Popidius Florus: inscribed on a marble slab N(umerius) Popidius Florus Ven(eri) Lib(ero) Her(culi), (AE 1922, 101.)

a little over five metres from the western corner, there is a dipinto BACCHE painted in black (*CIL* IV 3508). *Bacche* can be interpreted either as the vocative form of *Bacchus*, as is done by the author of the *CIL*, or as a personal female name, or even as the name of a nymph.[256] Both Bacchus and Bacche appear as personal names, but could the latter in our case perhaps advertise a famous local beauty, as personal names were used more often only later during the Imperial era?[257] In the vicinity of this dipinto there were several other inscriptions: advertisements for elections or personal names referring to the owners of the house.[258] The house itself is one of the best examples for this study, with Bacchic themes being favoured by the owners (A5, B11, D6, D13, E9, H7).[259]

To conclude, three of the four cases inside the town walls can at least superficially be associated with religion. That of the Vico dei Soprastanti identifies the divinity in the wall painting; that of House II, 3, 6 is located in an area specifically reserved for religious activities in the complex; and thirdly, the inscribed stone refers to a statue of the divinity, even if decorative in purpose, and was at least situated within a sacred area. The example from the outer wall of the House of the Vettii, due to its location amongst public announcements, is more ambivalent. The altar from Boscoreale shows the great importance of the god of wine to the farming people in the region.

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256 Diehl 1930, *PWV*, no. 4, identifies this dipinto as referring to a god.

257 Solin 2003, 333–334: *Bacchus* and *Bacche* were used as personal names in Rome, the former is attested around 210 AD, the latter in the 2nd and 3rd century AD: Antonia Bacche is known from a sepulchral inscription (*CIL* VI 10537).

258 *CIL* IV 3505–3515. One of these names is *Liberalis* (3507), which is situated immediately east of *Bacche*. Liberalis is quite a common name in Pompeii, even if it could be connected to Liber as well.

259 Wyler 2004, 951.

5. The Temple and its Inscriptions

To better understand the worship of Liber-Bacchus in Pompeii, it is worth casting an eye on the references to the cult in nearby areas, as well as further away. Quite a large part of our knowledge of the worship of Bacchus in Campania is from later than 79 AD.[260] The exceptions are areas of Greek colonization, such as Cumae (Kyme) or Naples.[261] In Cumae, worship started in the mid-sixth century BC. An archaic Greek epitaph, and the case of the effeminate Cumaean tyrant Aristodemus (Malakos), have already been mentioned above.[262] A Latin inscription names a priest of *Liber*: …VERRIVS•M• … ONTANVS•LIBERI SACERDOS.[263] For the most part, however, the Latin inscriptions discovered in Campania and southern Latium are later than the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and the divinity is usually called *Liber* or *Liber Pater*, also with epithets, e.g. Hebon. Thus, the cult apparently evolved into a more mystery-oriented and oriental one during the late second century AD.[264]

In Atina, nearly at the half-way point between Pompeii and Rome, an inscription tells us that a new temple (*aedes*) was dedicated to *Liber*. The date of this event is the first century BC,[265] but the remains of the temple have not been identified. Other inscriptions show that Liber was also worshipped in Privernum, Cora, and Aquinum.[266] From Herculaneum comes a bronze *tabella* with military diplomas refering to a statue

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[260] Peterson 1919, 8, 11; Turcan 1989, 104, 181–183, 290.

[261] Carafa 2008, 42, 150 (index) gives dates. He refers to Baiae and Prop. 3,18,1, but to my mind this is somewhat far fetched.

[262] Peterson 1919, 70; Casadio 2009, 33, 35–39.

[263] *CIL* X 3705; Peterson 1919, 47–48, 70, 71.

[264] The idea of a Greek cult having more oriental features, and later also those of a certain syncretism, was suggested quite early, e.g. Dubois 1907, 134–137. From Puteoli comes an inscription to Liber Pater, whose dedicators were SACERDOTES ORGIOPHANTAE, *CIL* X 1583 (leader of the orgies, as a complete word is a *hapax* in this text). The reference is most probably to a mystery cult, but the place where another inscription SCHOLA ORG[IOPHANTARUM] was discovered was the Flavian amphitheatre, thus public and of importance either for the town itself or its neighborhood; Maiuri dated it to the latter half of the 2nd century AD (Septimius Severus), Maiuri 1955, 52–53, on the inscription, *L'Année Épigraphique* 1956 no. 138. The first meaning of the word *orgia* is the secret nocturnal worshipping held in honour of Bacchus, the second meaning is any secret service, Georges II, 1397–1398; *CIL* X 1584 (an altar) and 1586 also contain the name Liber Pater. *CIL* X 1585 includes the *thiasus Placidianus*, Jaccottet 2003 II, 284–287. The first two date back to the time of Septimius Severus, and the last one back to 198–211 AD, they belong thus to the period after the eruption of Vesuvius.

[265] *CIL* X 5045.

[266] *CIL* X 6435 Privernum; *CIL* X Cora 6510, dated only to the first or the second century AD; *CIL* X 5422 Aquinum: sacerdos (a priestess) Liberi publica,

of Liber in Rome.[267] Both in Campania and in Latium the amount of information concerning the temples or other places dedicated to Liber is limited to only a few places before the end of the first century AD. In Magna Graecia further to the south, the cult of Dionysus is known to have been strong in Tarentum,[268] and in Lucanian Heraclea there were two extramural sites.[269] In Thurioi [270] and Locroi Epizephyrioi the presence of the cult is obvious, at least in the material culture.[271]

Further east, in Athens, the well-known temple of Dionysus on the southern slopes of the Acropolis goes back to the Archaic period. It was a relatively small in-antis temple: its plan of 8 x 13.5 m consisted of a cella and pronaos, with an eastern orientation towards the Tripodon Street, the important route around the northern slope of the Acropolis from the lower city. Its architectural successor, with the same orientation, from the latter half of the fifth century grew larger, with a podium of 9 x 21 m and a Doric tetrastylus in the façade, with one column per side.[272] The site of the temple on rising terrain was very visible to those coming by the southern roads.

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[267] This is also later, dated to the reign of Vespasian, and does not tell us anything about the cult or objects in Herculaneum, *CIL* X 1402; *Ara gentis Iuliae* was a place in Rome where the diplomas of the honourably discharged soldiers were displayed, since about 71 AD. Cf. Platner – Ashby 1929, 247. In this text a statue of Liber is mentioned, ANTE SIGNV(M) LIB(ERI) PATRIS, but it may be a later addition, N. Pollard, s.v. Liber Pater, signum, *LTUR* 5, 272; another diploma mentioning the same statue of Liber (*CIL* XVI 10) was dated back to the year 70 AD, and was found in 1930 in the village of Goss near Dontchev and the town of Breznik, now in Sofia. In Rome, there was also a shrine of Liber near Tor di Nona, across the river at the mausoleum of Hadrian, indicated by the inscription LIB. According to Rodríguez Almeida, the image on a Roman coin corresponds to this find better than the remains along the Sacra Via. The shrine of Tor di Nona has often been identified as being dedicated to Hercules. The dating of the shrine's statues varies from the 1st century to the 3rd AD, while the building itself is clearly later than the pier constructions. The architrave's inscription LIB has been poorly documented. Marchetti 1891, 46; Platner – Ashby 1929, 251; E. Rodríguez Almeida s.v. Bacchus (Hercules?), *LTUR* 1, 154.

[268] Wuilleumier 1939, 496–501; Giannelli 1963, 238; Casadio 1995, 86–92.

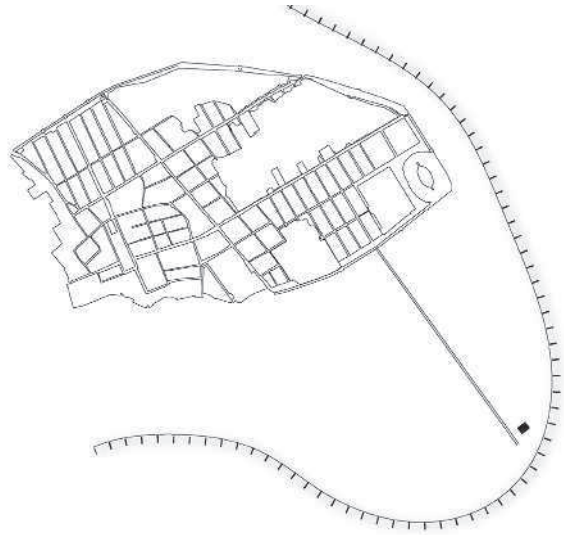
[269] Bruhl 1953, 60; Sartori 1967, 31, 39–76; Edlund 1987, 110–114; Greco 1992, 318; Buzzi – Giuliano 1995, 161–164; Casadio 1995, 95–96.

[270] Bruhl 1953, 60; Casadio 1995, 80; Mertens 2006, 363.

[271] Bruhl 1953, 60; Buzzi – Giuliano 1995, 149–150; Casadio 1995, 101–103.

[272] Emanuela Santaniello,"Il santuario di Dioniso Eleuthereus: il tempio e il teatro", Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d.C. (SATAA 1), 166–167 Ed. Emanuele Greco. Athens 2010.

The Temple at Sant'Abbondio



The location of the temple is southeast of the town walls of Pompeii, by the road leading out of the Nuceria Gate, and overlooking the The River Sarnus.

There is a temple allegedly dedicated to Liber-Bacchus in Pompeii. The temple is located at a distance of ca. 700 metres southeast of the urban walls of ancient Pompeii.[273] In 1943, a bomb was dropped in the vicinity of the small church of Sant'Abbondio,[274] revealing ancient constructions. Archaeological excavations started in November 1947, when the first impression of the construction was of a summer triclinium, but emerging columns and the fragments of a pediment soon changed the picture into that of a shrine. The discovery was significant, as no other extramural temple had been discovered before that date in Pompeii.[275] The iconography of the pediment relief prompted the plausible identification of the cult,[276] consequently including the temple in the general discussion about the cult of Dionysus and its expansion.[277]

[273] South of the modern railway station.

[274] It honours the 5th century bishop Abundius of Novum Comum (now Como).

[275] The discovery gained much publicity, and the first to publish it was Amedeo Maiuri, the director of the excavation, his assistant Olga Elia having been responsible for the actual fieldwork, Maiuri 1958a, 117–120; Elia 1965, 184; Bielfeldt 2007, 317; Wolf 2007, 277; D'Alessio 2009, 92–93.

[276] According to Tarditi 1954, 267–268, the pedimental inscriptions do not provide full certainty as to the identification of the cult. Cf. also Wyler 2013, 49 who discusses the roles of the two deities.

[277] The destiny of the site evolved as follows: the pedimental sculpture and the altar from the forefront were taken for safekeeping into the museum. In the 1950's and 1960's occasional restoration work was done and *lapilli* were also removed from the surrounding area. Elia's reports from 1964 were edited by G. Pugliese Carratelli, Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 442; D'Alessio 2009, 92–93. W. F. Jashemski studied the flora of the area as a part of her garden study in 1973, Jashemski 1979, 124, 157–158; *id*. 1993, 253–254. Excavatios were carried out also in the 1990's, and the temple site was renovated, after having been used for, among other things, a children's playground. A copy of the pediment was brought to the site and a glass roof was installed; Wolf 2007, 277–279 provides a good overview of the temple's research history; D'Alessio 2009, 93, 96; De Simone 2011, 301–303; Wyler 2011, 209. Nowadays the site is fenced, remaining fairly unnoticed in

The temple ruins (2010): the wall of the pronaos is behind the schola.

The temple was located on top of a wooded hill, near the place where the river Sarnus curved towards the sea in ancient times. Its location was both visible from afar and most likely within an easy walking distance from the town, as well as from the seaside port,[278] which it was most probably facing considering its western orientation. It is not an isolated case of pre-Roman sanctuaries of Pompeii being visible on high places: the temple of Venus, the temple in the Triangular forum, and this example above the vineyards south of the town.[279]

The chronology of the site goes back to the sixth century BC, based on the earliest pottery finds indicating cult activities there even before the temple was built. Fragments of pottery were discovered in two places. Firstly, at the back of the cella inside a structure, probably a mensa, an offering table and a deposit of pottery fragments were found. They consisted of bucchero cups and plates, impasto pots, a handle of an Attic kylix, and 18 unglazed miniature cups.[280] Secondly, a rim of a bucchero cantharus, some black-glazed Attic ware, a rim of a cup (skyphos?) and a Campanian kylix emerged from the NW corner of the temple podium by the triclinium during the excavations of 2008.[281] There is one fragment that more than any other indicates Dionysiac features: a rim of a carinated bucchero cup, perhaps a cantharus. They have been understood having been brought to the site to fill the podium during the construction of temple, although their origin is unclear and the interpretations vary.[282] In my mind, the fragments are typical

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the midst of many houses. The most recent research was conducted by William van Andringa.

[278] Shrines located outside towns that were closely linked with them can be divided into extramural and extra-urban types, according to their location. Extramural sites were an essential part of the town setting. Extra-urban buildings were located further away, but had close ties with the town religiously, politically, and socially, Edlund 1987, 142–143; Wyler 2013, 47–48.

[279] Della Corte 1954, 373; Guzzo 2000, 108–109.

[280] Elia 1965, 186; Elia 1970, 188, note 13; Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 451–452; Reusser 1982, 370, no. 14; Bielfedt 2007, 321; D'Alessio 2009, 93; Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 27; Avagliano 2018, 206–208. The offering table measured ca 2.85 x 1.40. The fragments are not properly published.

[281] Principal 2013, 38–40. Several modest yellowish-beige votive kylikes were also discovered.

[282] Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 27: no evidence of an earlier cult; Avagliano 2018, 73: cult since the

The temple ruins (2010): the two triclinia and the ramp leading to the pronaos.

of vessels from votive deposits, and are associated with consuming wine, not an alien practice to the cult of Bacchus. It is highly likely that the cult existed in the archaic period before the temple on this hill was built.

It was not until the latter half of the third century[283] that a temple following Italic conventions, with a deep pronaos and almost equal sized cella in the ratio of about 1:1, was constructed. The temple has a very low podium, perhaps even considered to be a low krepis, 14.45 x 8.15–8.20 metres in size, and a Doric tetrastylus façade with three columns on the long sides, now with some new details and additions:[284] a ramp leading to the pronaos was built at the end of the third century, or in the beginning of the second, and an altar was added during the second century. After a gap of 150 years the building activities were resumed during the first century AD: the pronaos was remodelled with walls between the columns, and intercolumniar benches were built. The height of the columns was approximately 6.5–7 metres, and the walls between them about one-third of that, ca. 2.20 metres. There was now a door between the columns in the middle of the façade, and two triclinia and a schola were built outside.[285] The altar made of Nucerian tufa was located about 1.30 m in front of the ramp, between the outer

archaic period.

283 Elia 1965, 189, dated the building of the temple to the middle of the third century because of the similarity to structures in some other Pompeian buildings. According to Van Andringa the temple itself was actually constructed in the middle of the third century but the ramp is later. Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 27–28; Wyler 2013, 47.

284 Wolf 2007, 284, 286, 287, 298, 299, 304, Abb. 34–35, 315. The walls between the columns reach at least to a height of 1.41 metres above the stylobate, but they may have been 2.20 metres high, about one third of the height of the columns.

285 The ramp with inscriptions was probably protected by wooden structures for creeping plants. The last phase was probably post-Augustan, but the exact date is hard to define. Matteo Della Corte referred to the extremely good condition of the two triclinia and the schola at the time of their discovery, considering them as part of a later construction, Della Corte 1954, 373; Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 444–445; Wolf 2007, 285–288, 298; Bielfeldt 2007, 344–345; Van Andringa 2009, 121; Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 15, 28–30.

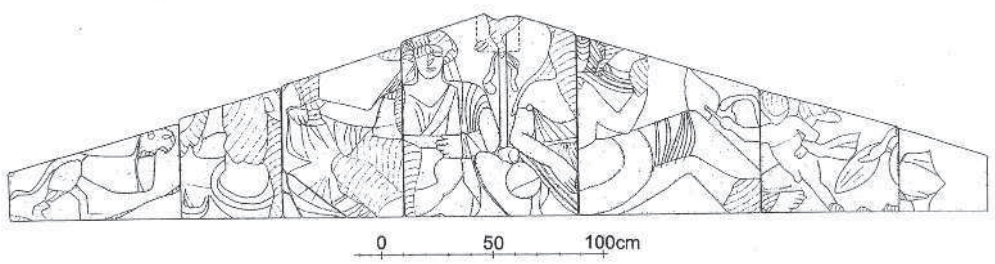
klinai. The two triclinia each had a round table situated in the middle. The semi-circular schola was situated to the south of the pronaos. This bench did not quite follow the orientation of the temple and triclinia, opening slightly more towards the south-west; it may have been for the uninitiated, if the more enclosed area around the triclinia and the pronaos was for the initiated, as the plants and the walls of the pronaos created a more sheltered space.[286] The opening between the pronaos and the cella itself was exceptionally large, 5.95 m, enabling the worshippers to see the cult statue without any hindrance, whether standing or sitting in the pronaos, or even from further afar. In the cella, there were two pedestals one behind the other; the smaller, at the front, contained the votive fragments mentioned above, while on the larger pedestal behind there must have been one or more cult statues.[287]

The building technique varied in different periods, but local materials were always used. The foundations were made of Sarno limestone, partially covered with reddish stucco, and the floor was made with opus signinum -technique. Large limestone blocks

The central part of the pediment, now in the Antiquarium of Pompeii (2017).

[286] The low wall was made with opus incertum technique, and the bench was covered with opus signinum. Wolf did not find any pillar foundations, which would have indicated a tighter closing of the opening. Now it is supposed that the cella would have been protected by a lightweight solution, Wolf 2007, 285.

[287] Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 451; Wolf 2007, 284, 287, 303–312. None of the temples of about the same size elsewhere in Hellenistic Central Italy, listed by Markus Wolf, are known to have been dedicated to Liber, and in most of these cases the divinities remain unknown. He has many examples, the best parallels of which are the temple A of Pietrabbondante in central Italy, Schiavi d'Abruzzo's two temples, and the temple of Vastogirardi, and the temple of Hercules in Cori, Latium, best suited for its size and the number of columns: a tall podium and Tuscan columns. Stylistically, and because of the inscription, this phase of the Cori temple has been dated to about 100 BC. In southern Italy and Sicily a temple with some similar features is the temple B of Selinunte, as well as the temple of Zeus in Pergamon, in Asia Minor.



The pediment of the temple, drawing 1:25, Wolf 2007, 301.

were used for the walls of the cella, and Nucerian tufa stone for the upper parts.[288] An opus-signinum floor was also constructed in the Doric temple of the Foro triangolare, in its Italic-Samnite-Hellenistic phase in the third or second century.[289] The techniques were widely used over an extended period of time, and cannot as such provide a precise dating.

The temple façade was adorned with a tympanum of seven blocks of Nucerian tufa stone, cut with reliefs. Six figures – two animals and four human figures - can be discerned in the composition, the central part having been reserved for a thyrsus. In the research literature the identification of the temple at Sant'Abbondio is mainly based on the pediment sculpture, and in my opinion is already supported by the thyrsus, a characteristic object in the cult of Dionysus; its central position settles the discussion of the identity of the divinity (or at least one of which was) venerated in the shrine. The assumed Dionysus-Liber (on the left) has been presented as a young and tightly draped figure who holds a cantharus and a bunch of grapes in his hands. The other protagonist, in contrast, has received several interpretations, varying from Ariadne to Aphrodite to Libera.[290] The position of the protagonists on the pediment shows a link to banquets and ritual eating, assumedly also partaken by the worshippers in the nearby triclinia.[291]

The pediment has three iconographic parallels in central Italy: a stone pediment of a funerary aedicula from Vulci in southern Etruria was discovered at the graveyard of Cavalupo, from the third century BC,[292] i.e. approximately of the same date as the

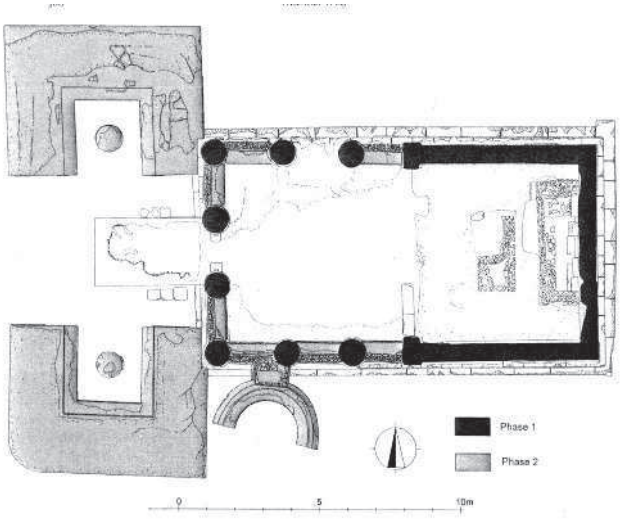
[288] Richardson 1988, 369–371: he dates the use of the Nucerian tufa from the beginning of the second century BC, but the earliest use of this stone seems to go back to the Doric temple, with its columns of Nucerian tufa from the third century, La Rocca et al. 150.

[289] Scatozza Höricht 2001, 336.

[290] For more on the pediment I1.

[291] The ritual wearing of wreaths of ivy and lying on beds of ivy leaves while dining also happened e.g. during the Athenian Dionysia. The idea of reclining on the ground is commonly depicted in Greek vases, Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 80, 88.

[292] The dating varies from the first to the second half of the first century, e.g. F. Jurgeit *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v.



A plan of the temple showing two building phases, drawing 1:125, Wolf 2007, 396, fig. 38.

pediment in Pompeii. A slab of terracotta pediment from a small funerary temple at Vulci, at the graveyard of Ponte Rotto, dates to the first half of the second century BC. A pediment of a temple model of terracotta from Vulci dates from the first century BC.[293] Thus, there seems to have been a continuing tradition in southern Etruria which survived all possible measures against the Bacchic religion. Their imagery clearly follows the Hellenistic tradition.

The area in front of the temple with the triclinia and the altar was (besides the ramp) enclosed by vine-covered pergolas from above, and food remnants containing copious amounts of grapes and figs were subsequently discovered. In addition, the bone most probably corresponded to pigs and cattle as the most common sacrificial animals.[294] Pergolas with triclinia are not unknown in Pompeian private houses, but according to Jashemski this garden would have been the only one devoted to cult purposes in the whole town; her main point of justification in this conclusion was the lack of statues of Bacchus in other gardens.[295] In the 1990s the excavations carried out south and southwest of the temple revealed a large vineyard surrounded by a wall, while on the northern side of the temple there were remains of a farmstead which may also have been part of the temple grounds. Only further in the south does the terrain slant

Ariadne/Ariatha 1073: first half. Wyler 2013, 50: second half.

293 Elia 1965, 188–189; Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 456–471; M. Cristofani *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v. Dionysos/Fufluns 539 (nos. 61 and 63); F. Jurgeit *LIMC* 3 (1986) s.v. Ariadne/Ariatha 1073, 1074 (nos. 20, 21, 31); Bielfeldt 2007, 322–330, 337–339; D'Alessio 2009, 9; Wyler 2013, 50–52.

294 Zech-Matterne – Oueslati 2013, 65–67, 69.

295 Jashemski 1979, 157–158; Wolf 2007, 314 refers to differences between Pompeian garden triclinia and Sant'Abbondio, and hints at more cultic parallels in Pergamum and Khirbet Semrine in Syria. I shall later argue against her argument.

towards the Sarnus and its swampy soil unsuitable for cultivation.[296] Overall, the immediate surroundings emphasized the agricultural role of Liber, mainly that associated with wine.

Inscriptions

Three inscriptions connected to the temple shed light on its building history. They are all written in Oscan: two are on the altar,[297] and the third is on top of the low ramp leading to the pronaos. The ramp is later than the temple, and was possibly preceded by stairs in the first building phase.[298]

The texts on the front and back side of the altar convey the same information twice, even if the back was carved with less accuracy: M(A)R(A(HI?)S). ATINIÍS. MR. AÍDÍL. SUVAD. EÍTIUVAD, written from left to right with letters of height ca. 3.5 cm.[299] In Latin: *Maras Atinius Marae/Marai f. aidilis sua pecunia*. By this inscription the altar can be dated to about 200 BC, or the first half of the second century, when Maras Atinius was an aedile. He later became a quaestor and spent public funds on a sundial in the Stabian baths in Pompeii. The style of this sundial dates it to the beginning of the second century BC. The type of the altar itself is common, making the exact dating on stylistic grounds impossible.[300]

The third inscription on top of the ramp was laid with pebble stones. Oscan pavement inscriptions are very rare, and an example of this material is unique. The text

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[296] Mastroroberto 2010, 214–215. Only scattered excavations have been made in the area, nowadays covered tightly by modern constructions.

[297] The measurements of the altar: height 90 cm, width 105 cm, and depth 75 cm. The original is nowadays in the museum of Pompeii.

[298] Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 24.

[299] The inscriptions are published in e.g. Antonini 1977, 340, no. 6: mr.atiniís.mr.aídíl.súvad.eítiuvad; Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 448; Poccetti 1979, no. 107: MR. ATINIÍS. MR. EÍTIUVAD AÍDÍL. SUVAD.; Antonini 1983, 202–204; Rix 2002, 105, no. Po 16: m(a)r(a(hi)s). atiniis. mr. aídíl. suvad. eítiuvad; Crawford 2011, 642–643 favours the first name Maras: m(a)r(as). atini í s. m(a)r(ahe í s). a í d í l. suvad e í tiuvad. Only the front has a full stop after the word atiniís. The dating is 225–200 BC; Sironen 2013, 61–63: mr. atiniís. mr. aídíl. suvad. eítiuvad. His dating is the first half of the second century. If the texts are from different periods, the later one imitates the older one in order to preserve the Sabellic identity.

[300] Elia 1965, 186, 189, connected the shape of the altar with the Hellenistic altars of Magna Graecia, with the altar of the so-called Zeus Meilichios (apparently the temple of Asclepius) in Pompeii, and in Rome with the considerably older sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus from 298 BC. Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 448, 454; Bielfedt 2007, 331–332; Crawford 2011, 650–651. The sundial is of Greek marble and dated back to 150–100 BC, MANN inv. 2541; on the altar and its material, see Bielfeldt's reference 58.

consist of names: Ú. EP[P]IDIIS. Ú. TR(EBIS). MEZIIS. TR(EBIEÍS). AÍDILIS.[301] In Latin *Ovius/Oppius Ep[p?]idius Ovi/Oppi. f. Trebius Mettius Trebi f. aediles*. This may signify that the aediles paid for the renovation of the whole temple – not necessarily only of the ramp – but the funding remains unclear, as only the positions of the persons in question are mentioned. The Epidii belonged to a well-known Pompeian family that originated in Nuceria and had been known in Pompeii since the time of these inscriptions.[302] The house of Marcus Epidius Rufus (IX 1, 20) and of Marcus Epidius Sabinus (IX 1, 22) contain, interestingly, some elements associated with Bacchus. The most significant are the sculptures in the exedra and the façade of the former: in the exedra *g* the columns were adorned with capitals depicting maenads, and in the vestibule *b* with sphinxes, associated with Thebes and Dionysus. These may have been produced as early as at the end of the Third century BC.[303] In the latter house, the works of art are from a later period: one III style wall painting represents a young effeminate Bacchus with Ariadne or a maenad, and a marble herm depicting a youthful Bacchus with an ivy wreath.[304] The religious role of the Epidii has been emphasized, in the same manner as the social, political, and economic connections of the Campanian Epidii with Aquileia on the Adriatic coast.[305] The three inscriptions specifying the person's official standing assert that the cult was accepted and perhaps controlled by the authorities in Pompeii. The possibly missing information on the cost of the renovation (or extensive repairs), though typically included for inscriptions of this kind, may have been provided in a lost part of the inscription.[306]

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[301] In Latin: Ovius/Oppius Ep[p?]idius Ovi/Oppi. f. Trebius Mettius Trebi f. aediles. Antonini 1978, 458 (nro 129): ú.epidiis.ú.tr.meziis.tr.aídilis.; Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 449; Poccetti 1979, nro 108: Ú. EPIDIIS. Ú. TR. MEZIIS. TR. AÍDIL; Antonini 1983, 205–207; Rix 2002, 105, no. Po 15): ú. epidiis. ú. tr(ebis). meziis. tr(ebieís). aídilis.; Crawford 2011, 640–641: ú(vis). epidiis.ú(vies í s). tr(ebie ís). a í dilis; Sironen 2013, 60–61:]ú. e[p]pidiis. ú. tr. meziis. tr. aídilis. Sironen added another p to the name Epidius, because the space between was over 4 cm long. He dates the text to the end of the third or early second century.

[302] Gallo 2013, 7, 183–184, 193–203. The forefather was said to have had horns, as did Dionysus.

[303] Gallo 2013, 66–69; 77–78; Elia 1975, 128–130.

[304] See D11 in the catalogue for the painting; The marble herm was discovered in 1866, Fiorelli 1873, 165, no. 172.

[305] Gallo 2001–2002, 109–110; Gallo 2013, 191–192.

[306] Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 448–449; Antonini 1983, 202–207; D'Alessio 2009, 93–94; Barnabei 2007, 39; Bielfedt 2007, 333–334, 361. The family of Maras/Maraeus Atinii was possibly of the same branch, a gens originating from Aricia and mentioned by Cicero (*Phil*. 3, 16). Civil servants' names from the Samnite period in Pompeii are only known in very few cases, Castrén 1975, 42–43. Some Atini took part in the Bacchanalia scandal, but their relationship to the Pompeian Atinii remains unclear.

The Cult

On account of the pediment sculptures, it can be assumed that the ceremonies comprised initiation and ritual dining. It has even been argued that the pedimental sculpture depicted the transition from youth to adulthood, with the figure on the right hand side of Bacchus symbolizing rebirth: a similar depiction of a celebration of local customs was discovered in the region of Magna Graecia, dating to the period of the fourth to secnd centuries BC.[307]

The chronology of the temple is important in the analysis of the changes of the cult as reflected in the architecture. After the latest research campaign of 2008, more precise dates for the construction phases of the temple were suggested. The date had initially been considered to be later, perhaps the late third century or only the second century, based on stylistic reasons and/or the inscriptions.[308] According to Elia, Dionysus' temple belonged to the time when Oscan, Samnite, archaic Greek, Hellenistic, and a new Roman culture were merging. The many religious practices would also have affected the renovation of the temple.[309] The second century was a time when religious influences were very mixed, and the exact dating of the temple related to the Senate's resolution to prohibit bacchanals in 186 BC was considered somewhat unclear. It is certain, however, that the last building phase was after the prohibition, so the remodelling of the pronaos with the walls, the intercolumnar benches, and even the pergolae could be explained by the requirement for privacy while worshipping; considering the height of the pronaos walls, the worshippers could even stand without being seen. During this time the cult would have become more restricted and open only to the initiated. Simultaneously, on the other hand, the official Roman cult was allowed to continue without any need for privacy. Worshiping Bacchus *graeco ritu* was prohibited, but the Roman Liber, as well as Samnite parallels, could be venerated, while Greek and especially Hellenistic artistic models could be more freely adapted in the adornment of houses and villas of Pompeii.[310] Greek influences started to proliferate in the visual arts even if the cult

[307] Mastroroberto 2010, 212; Frisone 2010, 54–55. People celebrated Dionysus with many festivities, organized to imitate both the festivities of their mother towns and the indigenous customs of local rural inhabitants.

[308] This was a period when religious building projects in Pompeii were not financed exclusively by private donations, as persons holding high office also participated in the projects with public funds, Richardson 1988, 106; D'Alessio 2009, 124; Wyler 2011, 212; Van Andringa 2013b, 6.

[309] Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 455–456.

[310] Bielfeldt 2007, 340–341, 344, 361–363. Bielfeldt remarks that the Oscan name of Liber is not known to appear in Pompeii. She thinks that Liber Pater is a coy god of the vineyards, while Dionysus was the Greek counterpart of homes. The connection between them is unclear. She considers the possibility that a large landowner could have had this temple on his private land. Of the Pompeian extramural cult places, this was the only one to continue into the early imperial age.

remained Italic. Bielfeldt's interpretation was indeed that the temple in Sant'Abbondio was dedicated to Liber, the ancient Roman god, who would not have any connection with the Greek bacchanals. Her idea is further to maintain a clear difference between Liber and Bacchus.[311] This difference did not, however, manifest itself visually in the temple. The names of the inscriptions are from around this period, the ramp perhaps a few decades before, and the altar possibly quite near to 186 BC. The restoration may have taken place due to the steps and the altar having been destroyed during the repressions of 186.[312] Nevertheless, the Pompeian temple is the most important of the known Italic Bacchic sites, and it continued its activities openly after 186.

It cannot be claimed that the temple might only have served the needs of a small community, at least not all throughout its history. At a later Roman stage this is suggested by the presence of the secluded dining area and the wall of the pronaos. The current worshippers may have belonged to a local community of Bacchus, perhaps few in number and with rituals no longer led by town officials.[313] In spite of this, there is no reason to assume that these activities would have been in themselves restricted,[314] as secrecy was a general feature of the cult of Dionysus. The decision to prohibit the bacchanals strengthened this restrictiveness, which was also partly transferred to Liber's cult. Firstly, emphasizing the extra-urban or extramural character is only one alternative. In Italy there are very few cult sites identified with Liber or Bacchus, even fewer with any known connecting features. Secondly, the pergola depicted in a wall painting with a small temple from Lanuvium is a good parallel to the Pompeian temple with its outdoor dining activities,[315] even if no equivalent archaeological discoveries of cult areas have been made in Italy.[316]

The temple in Sant'Abbondio has been identified with both Liber, originally local Samnite Loufir, and with a local goddess, supposedly Herentas Erycina, a counterpart of Aphrodite.[317] Basing the identification of a shrine merely on one work of art, the pedimental sculpture, may be uncertain, as even inside the temples there were sometimes sculptures depicting different gods. It is only the cult image(s) and their number that can firmly identify the cult. Clarifying votive artefacts or inscriptions mentioning the

311 Bielfeldt 2007, 338–341.

312 Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 32.

313 Small 2007, 186. He thinks that the cult here must have been registered as an exemption, as being a small group of bacchants in a long established sanctuary.

314 Cf. D'Alessio 2009, 97–98.

315 Wyler 2013, 55.

316 The similar buildings listed by Wolf are temples dedicated to different gods, but they remain partly unidentified, Wolf 2007, 303–312.

317 Van Andringa 2013a, 75–76; Creissen – Van Andringa 2013, 31; Wyler 2011, 209.

cult *in expressis verbis* are also of utmost importance.[318] In this case, we do have votive objects, but the cult statue(s?) has/have disappeared. Also, the subject of the pediment is very clear, a symposium. The combination of Loufir and Herentas Erycina is in itself plausible, as this combination (Bacchus and Venus) appears frequently in Pompeii.[319] The fragments of the early votive vessels, especially that of a cantharus, pertain to Bacchus.

The Greek counterparts

To compare, some of the Greek temples of Dionysus do have this secluded aspect, while others are associated with a theatre, a harbour, or some other public spaces. Neither the orientation nor the architectural orders have any common ground in the Greek world. Considering the influence of the Greeks in Campania, it is probable that knowledge of their shrines had been available when the extramural temple in Pompeii was built and repaired.

A large extra-urban temple built on Naxos in Yria as early as the sixth century was provided with dining facilities in its annexes. The sacred tree and the vines were also connected with the cult.[320] In Pergamum, a temple close to a theatre was provided with low walls on the sides of the pronaos. The construction work was probably started by Eumenes II Soter (197–159), the builder of the Great Altar, as well as the large stoa used as the foyer of the theatre in 160 BC.[321] In Sicily, in Selinus (Selinunte), the smallest

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[318] E.g. Jupiter MANN 6266 and possibly 6260, Juno MANN 6264. On Pompeian temples and their sculptures, see Döhl and Zanker 'La scultura – La scultura nell'ambito cultuale' *Pompei 79* (Naples 1979) 80–185 and Van Andringa 'Statues in the Temples of Pompeii Combinations of Gods, Local Definition of Cults, and the Memory of the City', *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2012) 83–115. Neither discusses the extramural temple in Sant' Abbondio.

[319] E.g. Van Andringa 2013a, 76; Wyler 2013, 52–53.

[320] V. Lambrinoudakis – G. Gruben 1987, 569–621; G. Gruben, 'Il tempio', in *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 2. *Una storia greca*, I. *Formazione*, ed. Salvatore Settis, Torino 1996, 381–435; Torelli – Mavrojannis 1997, 386; Gruben 2001, 375–380.

[321] Domenico Musti has studied the Pergamum cult and its relationship to the regent's family. 'Il dionisismo degli Attalidi: antecedenti, modelli, sviluppi' in *Association dionysiaque* (1986), 105–126; On the other hand, the identification of the temple with Dionysus has also been rendered questionable based on the strong interpretation of the theatre and the site beside it. G.E. Bean, *Kleinasien* 1 Ägäische Türkei von Pergamon bis Didyma, 5. Auflage, Stuttgart 1987, 76–77. In the archaeological museum of Istanbul the Hellenistic door's block has been decorated with ivy garlands and masks. The inscription refers to Dionysus Kathegemon. The theatre and the temple together form a sacred area. South of the theatre there was also a building devoted to the cult of Dionysus. On living quarters, see W. Radt 1999, 192–199; in Pergamum there was also a smallish Dorian prostylus tetrastylus temple from the 100s BC (10.13 m x 6.76 m). It was dedicated either to Hermes or Dionysus. Gruben 2001, 465.

of the huge temples on the East Hill had intercolumniations closed by a wall over 4.5 metres high. The identification as a temple of Dionysus is partly based on the fact that the enclosing walls were needed for the mystery rites.[322] There was also a sanctuary for a more closed community in Peiraeus.

Apart from temples with features for seclusion, cave-like spaces were also used for the cult. A vaulted underground chamber could be modelled after a tomb, and used as a ritual cave. Some of them could actually be only light constructions, covered by plants, e.g. a site dedicated to Dionysus in Kallatis in Thrace in the third century BC; it is an early example of a closed site for a mystery cult, being an underground space with an arched roof. A later example comes from Thasus, where a temple donated by the physician Timokleides in the first century AD contained a beautiful evergreen cave under the open sky.[323]

A similar sacred site is known from Heracleia in Lucania, where it was situated on the shore of the river Aciris, west of the town. Dionysus' temple itself was elsewhere, on the lower slope of the southern town hill, but both places were extramural. The votive gifts found in the temple also have dedications to Aphrodite, making a similar combination to both Liber and Pompeian Venus at Sant'Abbondio more probable.[324] It is not unknown to connect Dionysus with other divinities. On Kos and Klaros, for example, there were altars dedicated to both Dionysus and Apollo, who was considered more important in the area.

Indeed, the possible models for the Pompeian temple were many and diverse. It can be seen that the idea of a more closed pronaos already developed during the Hellenistic era. The dining area and gardens with trees or vines were also known at this time. The original Doric temple in Sant'Abbondio was perhaps transformed into this more closed

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[322] Bruhl 1953, 61–62. The temples were dedicated to Dionysus, Apollo, and Artemis. Bruhl points out that temple E would have had a metope representing the hierogamy; Buzzi – Giuliano 1995, 223–224. This sixth century temple F is identified with Dionysus because of its restrictive nature. The Doric columns of this temple were over ten metres high, so the later enclosed part was thus about the half of their height. Existing metopes depict both Dionusys and Athena.

[323] Jaccottet 2003 I, 150–171, II, 69, 110–116. Kallatis is today Mangalia in Romania; On Lesbos there were extra-urban temples, M. Paraskevaidïs, s.v. 'Lesbos, Greece' *PECS*, 503: a small extra-urban Doric temple identified as the temple of Dionysos Bresagene on the southern part of the island, Agios Fokas. Another temple in Mesa was possibly devoted to Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus.

[324] Bruhl 1953, 60; Sartori 1967, 31, 39–76; Edlund 1987, 110–114. Edlund discusses its connection with the shrine of Demeter nearby; Greco 1992, 318; Buzzi – Giuliano 1995, 161–164; Casadio 1995, 95–96; http://www.righel40.altervista.org/HerakSiris/Herakl.htm, retrieved 16.2.1014; http://www.basilicata.beniculturali.it/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=140:area-archeologica-di-herakleia, retrieved 16.2.2014; The Heracleian bronze tablets from 1732 specify the conditions and rent that enabled private persons to use the lands of the shrines of Dionysus and Athena in about 300 BC, because they had been illegally occupied and left untended. The temple of Dionysus probably held cult activities as early as the 600s BC. Aciris is modern Agri.

shrine according to Hellenistic models. The temple was dedicated to two important divinities, both local gods with a long history of worship in the region. They were portrayed with Greek connotations and Hellenistic imagery that was also well known in Etruria.[325] The temple used to be an open shrine, visible from the river and the road to the town. It survived the repression, and was an official cult place looked after by the civil servants. Gradually, during the early Empire the temple became a site tended by a more private cult community. The same family, the Epidii, who are known to have favoured the temple also decorated their houses with Bacchic motifs. The long history of the temple up to the destruction of the whole area shows the importance of Bacchus and his predecessor Loufir-Liber to the people of Pompeii. Finally, the status of Bacchus as a protector of local vine growers probably affected the choice of site.[326] The 20th century discovery of the temple fulfilled the desire for concrete proof of the cult of Bacchus in Pompeii.

6. The Main Iconographical Types

In order to understand the portrayal of Bacchus in Pompeian wall paintings, which is the largest group of Bacchic material, and also sculpture, one has to describe the main types of his images. *Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* by Karl Ernst and Heinrich Georges defined Greek Bacchus as a young, slender, and beautiful god of wine, whom the Romans identified with Liber, their god of nature. The entry under 'Liber' does not say anything about the physical appearance of Italic Liber, nor does the entry under 'Dionysus (-os)'.[327] This definition is not accurate about the pictorial tradition, because the figure of Bacchus and the gods identified with him was in fact polymorphic throughout the whole of Greco-Roman culture. Werner Schur emphasized the fact that the old Roman Liber was fully associated in art with the Greek Dionysus, and that an image of a separate Liber cannot be identified without his name actually being written out. As an example of this rare Liber, he presented a coin with the name Liber on one side and Libera on the other; the beardless Liber has a strong jaw and an ivy wreath on his head.[328] It is questionable, however, whether one can discern a separate iconography of Liber in the first century BC, for the presence of the name as such does not prove anything.

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[325] Lacam 2010, 313.

[326] Van Andringa 2009, 18, still considers the site to be modest, and the cult of Bacchus of no great role in the town.

[327] Georges I, 774 ja 2178, II, 636.

[328] W. Schur, s.v. Liber pater, *RE* 13, 1927, 76; Babelon 1885, 328–329. The denarius was previously dated to the year 79 BC, but the year 78 BC is more probable. The coin was probably minted in 66 BC by praetor L. Cassius Q. f. Longinus. http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-190-000-423-C, retrieved 16.2.2014.

The number of different representations of Bacchus in the Greek east, in the border areas of the Hellenistic world, and in the Roman west are enormous. Besides the fact that the appearance of the god himself varies, the situations he is portrayed in, the companions he is associated with, and the myths he is a part of all vary in works of art. The *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* divides this ancient iconography according to cultural spheres, however as was mentioned previously the works are all categorized under the name 'Dionysus'. The first of the articles by Carlo Gasparri deals with the Greek side of the iconography. It is divided into ten main sections. In the first are the earliest methods of depiction (even if the early masks and heads are treated more extensively in other sections). The second article deals with different types depicting the divinity alone; they are grouped e.g. according to clothing, posture, age, or form. Thirdly, the different types of the god are studied, together with his own more general cult companions, such as satyrs and maenads, without special links to known myths. The fourth section deals with his images in association with animals. The fifth is about different chariot groups in which Bacchus often appears. The sixth describes him as portrayed when associated with music, dances, and ecstatic movement. The seventh section introduces events depicted in pottery, in which rare attributes such as cornucopia or sceptres occur. The eighth section is the most extensive, with examples of the god in the company of other Olympic gods. In the ninth section the life story of the divinity is presented, starting with his birth and childhood, and then proceeding to his meeting with Ariadne and other myths about various men and gods. The tenth section presents a collection of festivities and cult activities.[329] The supplement of the *LIMC* also has additions by several writers. [330] The cult of Bacchus spread into the East during the Hellenistic period, when the Seleucids favoured it. In the Greek cultural border areas Bacchus was associated with other gods, where the pictorial tradition gathered new influences. In the Middle East, Bacchus was depicted mainly in the classical fashion, as a young, naked or sparsely clothed figure. This is perhaps to be expected, as the assimilated Adonis or Eshmoun were also young. Mysteries and rebirth were connected with many interpretations, and Bacchus was identified as Osiris in Egypt.[331]

In Mauro Cristofani's article about *'Dionysos/Fufluns'* in the Etruscan cultural sphere, the categories have mainly been made according to events and companions, not by the divinity's appearance. When alone, he can be depicted with or without a beard, and also with various other attributes. A separate chapter deals with the depictions of birth and childhood. The material used in this section is mainly from pottery and mirrors, but some statues are considered as well.[332] The article about Roman iconography

[329] Gasparri 1986, 420–514 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos.

[330] In addition to Maurizio Harari, other scholars have also written about single works. *LIMC* Supplementum 2009, 171–177 s.v. Dionysus.

[331] Augé – Linant de Bellefonds 1986, 514–531 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos (in peripheria orientali).

[332] Cristofani, 1986, 531–541 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Fufluns.

in the *LIMC*, entitled 'Bacchus' and written by Gasparri, divided the different iconographic motifs into more complex categories in a different manner, altogether eleven in number; the criteria here were his companions, various postures, and the situations depicted. Bacchus depicted alone, or with a panther, but without participating in any other specific activities or situations, has several subdivisions: the first is a standing youth (naked/wearing nebris, a cloak on his legs, a cloak and nebris on his arm, wearing a short chiton), the second is a youth leaning on a support, the third a sitting youth, the fourth a youth in motion, and finally the fifth a standing old man. Separate sections are written for Bacchi depicted in association with an altar, a vine, temples, or in chariots. In addition, there are also categories for partial figures, such as busts, and now also the depictions of the newer bearded figure can be distinguished from the archaic one. Most of the sections deal with the representations of Bacchus with various companions, and in different mythical situations. The last sections explore the identification with other deities, as well as the characteristic Pompeian Bacchus, covered with grapes.[333] The supplemental article 'Bacchus', written by Stéphanie Wyler, emphasizes the interpretations suggested in the current research, representing new types such as Bacchus Tauros from southern France.[334] In other sections of the *LIMC* series there are also entries dealing with Bacchus, the most important of them being 'Ariadne'.[335]

In spite of this immense iconographic variation, the dominant types of Bacchi are human figures of different ages. They include depictions as: 1) bearded, in most cases old, 2) young, and 3) a child – all of these with respective subtypes,[336] often represented in different environments and mythical events. Sometimes a mere mask designated the presence of Dionysus, thus emphasizing his penetrating gaze when among ordinary people.[337] The above quoted Macrobius noted the tripartite nature of the images of Bac-

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[333] Gasparri1986, 541–566 *LIMC* 3:1 Dionysus/Bacchus. See C17.

[334] Wyler 2009, 183–189 *LIMC* Supplementum s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus.

[335] *LIMC* 3:1, 1050–1077. Also M.-L. Bernhard, W.A. Daszewski and F. Jurgeit refer to Dionysus in their articles. Exploring a wider spectrum of decorative themes brings its own difficulty to the identification of Bacchus. For example, in the preserved parts of the Domus Aurea in Rome there are indeed vine leaves, grapes, and satyrs, but also griffins and Delphic tripods, associated with Dionysus. The tripod was used, in fact, in the Ptolemaic processions, and griffins are found later in the Forum of Trajan, while grotesques and theatrical scenes and masks refer to Bacchus, at least indirectly, Perrin 2006, 131–132.

[336] For example, Wolfgang Helbig uses the same main division in describing wall paintings. The main chapter II "Dionysos" is divided into subchapters "Der Dionysosknabe" (14 paintings, numbers 368–380), "Der jugendliche Dionysos" (32 paintings, numbers 381–409) and "Der bärtige Dionysos" (one painting, number 410). In addition to these, the catalogue has several cases in other subchapters (for instance "Der Thiasos") and elsewhere as in main chapter III "Heroenmythen" with a subchapter "Dionysos holt Ariadne heim".

[337] Otto 1965, 86–91. Otto e.g. remarked that in the François vase Dionysus differs from other gods because of his frontal gaze.

chus: *Item Liberi patris simulacra partim puerile aetate, partim iuvenis fingunt, praeterea barbata specie, senili quoque.*[338]

Bearded Bacchus

In Archaic Greek art the most common depiction of this divinity was as a clothed and bearded adult, analogous with the representations of Zeus and Poseidon, as most of the gods looked somewhat similar in the sixth century BC. Bacchus and his companions were a very common motif on black figure vases, with the oldest cult images depicting pillars with a mask on top. The identification of a specific figure, however, is not easy without the presence of specific attributes, and Bacchus can be confused particularly with Zeus and Sabazius, and later even with Serapis.

The bearded figure became popular again in the fourth century BC, possibly because of interest in the cult of Sabazius. When Bacchus manifests in two different forms he has sometimes been called Dimorphus. An Orphic influence was also seen in Dionysus Autopator, in which the reborn god was his own father and son. This kind of "janiform" representation, i.e. female and male heads or only a beardless and bearded Bacchus, was connected to the idea of continuity. The bearded Bacchus was the first incarnation that later reappeared as a youth.[339] On the other hand, the bearded and often ithyphallic Bacchus resembled Priapus, who according to one version, was the son of Bacchus and Ariadne.[340] In literature, the fully bearded figure could be considered the oldest Bacchus. He was associated with India, where men were thought to grow long beards and carefully groom them until death. This mythographic idea was well represented in Pompeian wall paintings.[341] Bassareus was one of the epithets of the old divinity, derived from the fox-skin, *bassara*, or a long (Thracian) robe worn both by himself and his maenads, and also sometimes referring to effeminate features in clothing.[342]

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[338] *Sat.* 1,18,9. – Wrede 1985, 22 quotes this passage while discussing herms, but it is fitting to Bacchic wall paintings as well.

[339] Janiform Bacchi are mainly herms in Pompeii. Autopator was later used also as a Gnostic term.

[340] Turcan 1958, 275–284, 293, analyses the bearded and beardless Dionysus in same sarcophagi; Turcan 1960, 179–183; E. Simon, *die Götter der Griechen*, (1969) Darmstadt, Studienausgabe 1985, 276; Perrin 2006, 138, 140 ja 142.

[341] Diod. Sic. 3,63,3 quotes mythographs. He writes that "The same Dionysus is, furthermore, said to have worn a long beard, the reason for the report being that it is the custom among the Indians to give great care, until their death, to the raising of a beard." Translated by C.H. Oldfather (1935).

[342] E.g. Hor. *carm*. 1,18,11. – Turcan 1958, 274–281. Hermaphroditic features could make even an old person androgynous.

Young Bacchus

A new type of Bacchus emerged in the course of the 5th century BC. He was now considered a god of the wild and the leader of ecstatic experiences, for which his depiction as a youth seemed more suitable. There were indeed references to the young Dionysus even in the poetry of the 6th century BC, but in the visual arts it became more widespread only in the late 5th century. The bronze statuette in the Louvre represents Dionysus as a young naked hunter wearing only high boots; it is one of the earliest examples of the new type, dated to ca 460–450 BC. Somewhat later, a drunken bearded Dionysus is depicted on a crater, wearing the same kind of footwear and holding a cloak on his arm. When the beard disappeared Dionysus became the naked youth, not unlike an idealized Apollo. While being a masculine hero of war, he also had a feminine side, which in mythology is perhaps comparable to the effeminate side of Paris.[343] The feminine features of Dionysus were noted quite early in antiquity. In the plays of the classical period he was referred to as an effeminate character, robed like his maenads,[344] and in vase painting he could also appear wearing women's clothing.[345] In Rome, during the Second Punic war (218–202 BC) the emerging cult favoured this depiction as a beardless youth.

Child Bacchus

The representation of Dionysus as a small child developed simultaneously with his depiction as a youth. Both the infant and the youth referred to and described his origin as the descendant of Zeus and Semele. Popular motifs included *Hermes carrying Dionysus to the nymphs*, *the education of Dionysus,* and *the triumph on returning from India*, which can all also be understood as *the victory over death*.[346] This infant type can also be

[343] Otto 1965, 17; Houser 1979, 12–13; Bremmer 1992, 192, 198. Bremmer considers that in literature and myths the feminine figure emphasizes the heroism of heroes and gods, as well as adult strength, and also Dionysus' power over the girl's dress in childhood.

[344] E.g. Haubner 1971, 149–151, though there are several reasons for the choices of robes. She gives a list of Bacchic clothes in Pompeii, 140–148.

[345] Nicole Loraux also discussed this divinity wearing women's clothes in an article on Heracles. Wearing the Lydian decorative ribbon, a.k.a. mitra, round the head, and women's festive clothing, were typical ways of representing Dionysus, unlike the occasional dressing of Heracles as a woman. 'Herakles: The Supermale and the Feminine' in *Before Sexuality, The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Eds. D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, and F.I. Zeitlin (Princeton 1990) 37–38; Cole 2007, 327–328; Pentheus is after the effeminate stranger who spoils Theban women (Eur. *Bacch.* 352–354).

[346] O. Kern, 1905, s.v. Dionysos 1045 (*RE* V); Cole 2007, 331.

represented with a panther companion, and no adults nearby. In these cases, the cupids resemble the infant Bacchus.

Dionysus had two main forms in Hellenistic art as a result of this paired development: one was a robed and bearded dignitary in festivities, the other a naked, relaxed, and negligently, even effeminately beautiful youth. This androgynous figure with long curly hair was often accompanied by Aphrodite, while the voluptuous Dionysus could also be represented as drunk. For Romans both forms were referring back.[347]

Attributes and animality

The thyrsus is the most common attribute of Bacchus. Initially, it consisted of a simple branch depicted as such, and the chosen material was often the god's own plant, an ivy or a vine, or increasingly a giant fennel (*ferula communis*). At first, it was carried by Dionysus himself, but was then transferred to his companions, such as satyrs and maenads, and to the people associated with the cult. The thyrsus was depicted as a plain stick in vase paintings from the latter half of the 6th century. Later, most probably for cultic reasons, it became adorned with different items, such as a bunch of ivy or vine leaves, or a pine cone on top, while the stem was entwined with ribbons or leaves. In art, this modified thyrsus first appeared in connexion with maenads, and later with other companions as well. Depictions of a thyrsus with decorations on both ends is a later phenomenon, and was common in Roman art.[348]

Dionysus has many connotations with animals. One of the most important of these images, the god depicted as an ox, with an ox, or wearing the hide of an ox, represents his fertility and masculinity. In Greek literature, Dionysus even acquired epithets associated with the ox, e.g. *Taurocephalus* and *Taurophagus*, and this concept was transferred from Greece to Rome. Accordingly, Bacchus could be depicted with horns, or even with the ears of an ox; however, his figure always remaining youthful, not a bearded adult. The *LIMC* provides examples of Greek Dionysus *Tauromorphus,* usually with

[347] A relief dated to 40–30 BC depicts a bearded old Dionysus leading a procession to a house, where a master together with his lady friend are awaiting him for a carousal, Ruesch 1908, 87–88, no. 272, MANN 6713. Other copies are known, e.g. in the Louvre; Paul Zanker thinks that the relief is a good representation of Mark Antony's typical theme, that Augustus himself opposed in his own moral and artistic programme. Zanker 1987, 70–71; Zanker 1998, 20–21.; Hamdorf 1986, 11, 102–103; A well-known later example is a Dionysus mosaic found in Cologne, dating to around 150 AD (Römisch-Germanisches Museum), where a satyr supports a drunken Dionysus. The old and young Dionysus could be portrayed even in the same picture, amongst other examples in sarcophagi. For a long time only four sarcophagi of this type were known, all with a wine harvesting motif. Friedrich Matz identified the fifth sarcophagus, depicting both an old and young Dionysus, in 1963, Matz 1963, 1420–1421 (36–37); van Eck 2015, 11–12.

[348] von Papen 1905, 10–12, 15–21, 29–36.

small horns, in coins or sculptures.[349]

Pastoral animals such as goats, rams and particularly kids were important in the cult of Bacchus, and the use of goats as sacrificial animals was common. Other animals associated with the cult were a panther (leopard), a young deer, and a wolf. Like the ox mentioned earlier, the goat and the donkey also represented fertility and sexual desire - although Dionysus never appeared in the shape of a donkey. According to some myths the donkey had in fact taught him bad habits, while others simply relate that donkeys assisted him in some manner. Feline beasts, such as panthers and lions - and tigers as added by the Romans - represented bloodlust and the will to kill. Moreover, the panther was thought to move lightly and gracefully, like the bacchants, and was also thought to be fond of wine, while still maintaining his wild nature.[350]

7. Catalogue of Wall Paintings and Mosaics

In this catalogue I will mainly use the name *Bacchus*, and *Liber* only in the cases where differentiating between the two might be considered possible. *Liber* would have been the more frequently used name in Pompeii, but any iconographic differences are not explicit, and besides Hellenistic models were certainly used most often. In the bibliographic references, the name occurring in the original source is used. The entries of the wall paintings are organised from the oldest iconographic type, the bearded one, to the most popular, i.e. the young divinity, concluding with the child descriptions.

Approximately forty emblema mosaics are known in Pompeii, most of them are small and follow Hellenistic models.[351] Luxurious pavements with an emblema are less numerous and mythological motifs are not usual, either. Bacchus is depicted very rarely, which is perhaps why all the scholars have not interpreted the emblema (A14) presented below as containing this divinity.[352] In the Vesuvian area the wall mosaics

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[349] Curtius 1882, 3 and 5; Welcker 1864, 37 and 39; Gasparri 1986, 440–441 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos; Lochi 2005, 41–42; Harari 2009, 171–172 *LIMC* Supplementum 1; Greek literature associates both the image of Dionysus Tauromorphus and the horns with the context of finding Ariadne and the Indian triumph.

[350] Otto 1965, 110–112, 170; Gasparri 1986, 414–415 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos; Casadio 1995, 93–94.

[351] De Vos 1979, 163–174; Tammisto 1997, 442–443; Clarke 2007, 325; Westgate 2000, 266. Dunbabin 1999, 39–40, 47–48, lists several examples in Pompeii with an average size from half square metre to one whole square metre.

[352] Cf. my wall painting chapter Child Bacchus above. The other potential Bacchus-emblema, a tiger-rider (MANN 9991), is more likely a Genius or a Cupid; e.g. Pernice 1938, 158–159, did not favour the identification as Bacchus, and also Rizzo 1929, pl. 82 used the term "personificazione del ciclo dionisiaco". De Vos 1979, 167 wrote *Dionysos-pais*; Sampaolo 1986, 32, 116, no. 7: Dioniso su tigre; Andreae 2003, 190–191: Eros.

make customarily parts of the fountains,[353] as is the case of the other entry (D16), a recent discovery in Pompeii.[354]

The following information is given for each entry:

Location: The place of discovery in Pompeii, if known, is indicated according to the regional division started by Giuseppe Fiorelli, the director of the excavations in 1863. Regions are numbered with Roman numerals I–IX, followed by the number of the block (insula) and the door number, then the room is given with a possible definition. If the painting has been removed to the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (MANN), or some other collection, the information regarding its current location is given.
Excavation: The precise year when the painting was found, if known; otherwise the excavation years of the house.
Condition: Overall condition of the painting.
Measurements: H height; W width in centimetres.
Bibliography: References are given in the chronological order. When the author is known, he or she is also mentioned in the publication series, which are usually referred to only with their titles, e.g. *Pompei, Pitture e mosaici* (*PPM*). The author of articles in scientific journals and other series is indicated, in order to better understand and follow the development of identifications.
Decorative Scheme: The scheme is described more precisely if Bacchic features appear.[355]
Dating: Style is given either according to the features visible, or if the paintings have been analysed by previous scholars. In the case of differing views, both are given if it is no longer possible to analyse the piece.
Description: Paintings are listed according to the most important iconographic subject. The main subject is described from bottom to top, from left to right, and secondary figures in the most logical order.
Comments: Identification and short analysis of the Bacchic features are given.
The items in the catalogue are grouped under headings from A to G, as follows: A contains the depictions of bearded Bacchus as the main figure, B–C contain the youthful

[353] Wall mosaics were often associated with water or gardens, gradually they spread, however, to other surfaces, such as columns. In Pompeii after the year 50 AD the iconographic similarity between wall mosaics and wall paintings is obvious. De Vos 1979, 175; Dunbabin 1999, 242–245; Clarke 2007, 334.

[354] A wall mosaic (MANN 9989), originally from Herculaneum and now in the Archaeological Museum of Naples, probably part of a fountain, presents a semi-recumbent Bacchus. Sampaolo 1986, 122–123, no. 47; Griesi 2011, 257–258, no. 52.

[355] In this study the contexts have not always taken into full consideration due to the amount of figures in certain spaces.

Bacchus alone in different postures and with a panther, D–F with various companions, G contain the images of the infant and child Bacchus. After each group, preliminary or auxiliary observations are discussed, and the concluding remarks are in chapter 10.

OLD BACCHUS

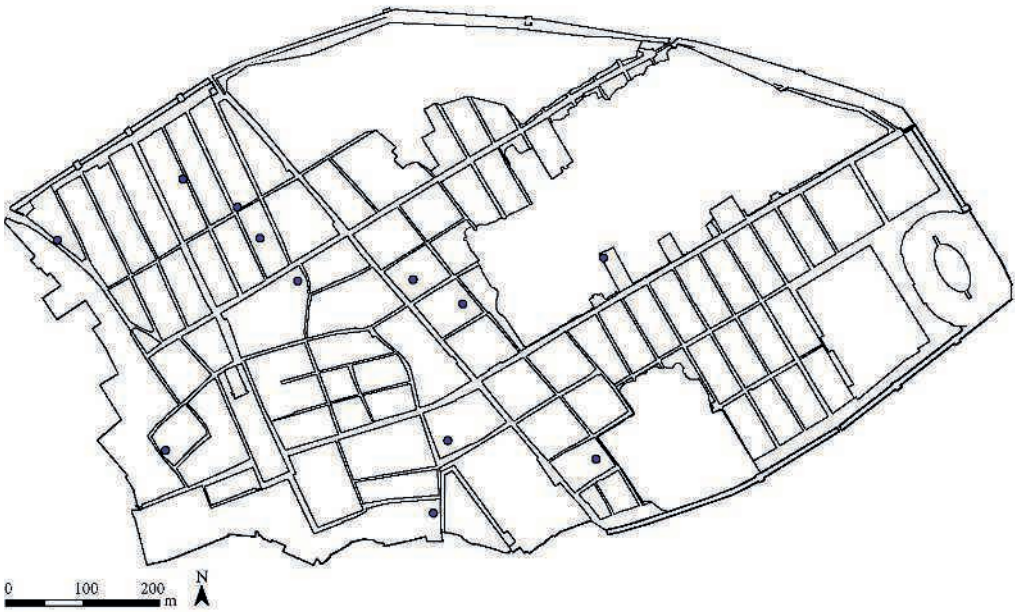
A – Bearded Bacchus

In this group there are thirteen wall paintings depicting a bearded adult Bacchus as the main motif. Five of these have been destroyed; for these works I mainly rely on the analyses made by Helbig and Sogliano. The wall paintings portraying several Bacchi, but also including a bearded example as a minor motif, are catalogued according to the most important figure i.e. young Bacchus. The last, A14 is an emblema mosaic.

A1
Location: Workshop, officina libraria(?), previously living quarters I 2, 24, room *k* (tablinum) on the north side of atrium, central picture of the north wall.
Excavation: 1872.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: W of the painting 89 cm (Sogliano).
Bibliography: Mau 1873 (*BdI*), 246; Mau 1874 (*BdI*), 254; Sogliano 1879, 133, no. 247; Schefold 1957, 10; Bastet – de Vos 1979, 139; *PPP* I, 4; Moormann 1988, 142, no. 142: possibly Dionysus of the Tivoli type; M. de Vos 1990, 53–54, 57 (*PPM* 1); Romizzi 2006, 306–307, no. 8.
Decorative Scheme: Candelabra against a black background.
Style and Dating: Early III.
Description: An outdoor scene. A statue stands inside a small temple, holding a thyrsus and a cantharus. In front of the temple there is an altar with two thyrsi, a cup upside down, and two female worshippers, one holding a thyrsus. Furthermore, there is an ithyphallic statue of Priapus, and another statue wearing a long chiton.
Comments: Sacral landscape with a statue of bearded Bacchus, also known from the iconographic parallels presented below. – Mortals are also depicted with a cantharus in Pompeii but the contexts differs.[356]

A2
Location: House with a workshop I 3, 3, room *u* (triclinium?) next to the eastern peristyle, central picture. Exact location is not known.
Excavation: 1860.

[356] E.g. in the atrium of the House VIII 2,18 (Part of the Terme del Sarno) in a Fourth style painting: an elderly person holds a patera, which makes the picture an offering scene; he is wreathed, but the cloak differs from the most typical types of cloaks used by Bacchus. Niccolini 1896 (IV), Nuovi scavi 56–57; Sampaolo 1998 (*PPM* 8), 117.



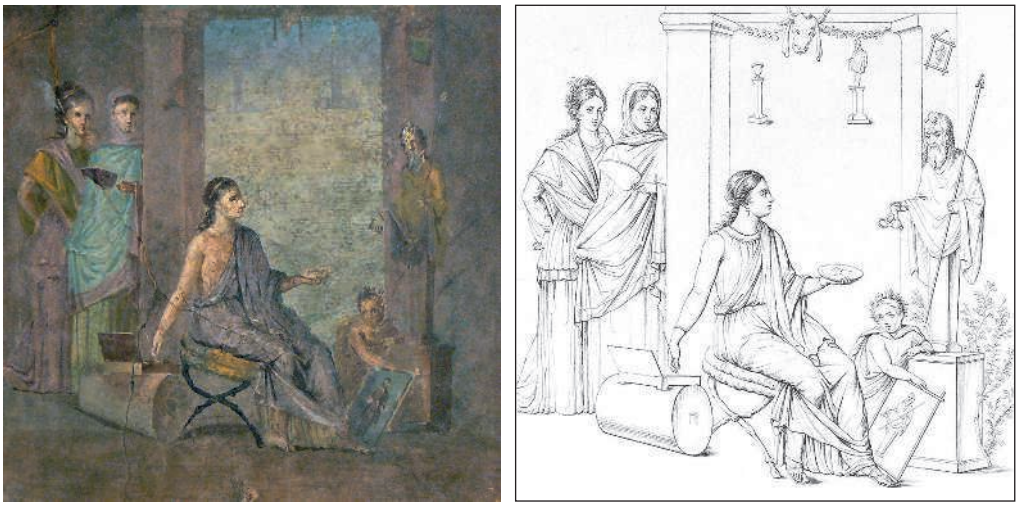
Location of A1–A14.

Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the male figure 25 cm (Sogliano), otherwise not known.
Bibliography: Mau 1873 (*BdI*), 237; Mau 1874 (*BdI*) refers to a male herm, 183–184; Sogliano 1879, 221, no. 685: male herm; Rostowzew 1911, 41; Schefold 1957, 12: Bacchus-herm; Moormann 1988, 142, no. 144: statue of a masculine divinity; Sampaolo 1990, 65 (*PPM* 1): male herm.
Decorative Scheme: Floating figures against a white background, one with a pot of flowers, the other with a vine.
Style and Dating: III 'a candelabri' (Mau) but most probably IV (e.g. Schefold) as the house is in *PPP* 1, 5.
Description: An outdoor scene. Sacral landscape against a white background, a man in a green robe approaching a sacred tree decorated with ribbons. A male herm with covered head and a modius (polos) on top, next to a table and a thyrsus.
Comments: A sacrifice in front of a bearded Bacchus herm and a sacred tree. The presence of the thyrsus supports the identification. The modius mentioned by Mau is a flat-topped cylindrical hat of eastern flavour, in Pompeii more likely Egyptian, often worn by Serapis.[357]

A3
Location: Casa del Chirurgo/Casa del Cerusico VI 1, 10, room 19 southeast of the garden, east wall, back wall of the room. MANN 9018.
Excavation: 1771.

[357] Jashemski 1993, 218; Sebesta – Bonfante 1994, 166.

Condition: Good.
Measurements: H 32 cm, W 33 cm (Helbig), 37.37 cm (*Romana pictura*), 45.5 and 45.3 cm (*Rosso pompeiano*) with the painted frames.
Bibliography: *AdE* 7/Pitture 5 (1779) Tav. 1: Bacchus herm; *PAH* I, 256: a bearded herm[358]; Bechi 1831, *MB* 7, tavola 3: bearded Bacchus; Helbig 1868, 341–432, no. 1443: Dionysus herm, but the boy should be a winged Eros; Roux – Barré 2 1870, 43–47; Spinazzola 1953, 289, 292[359]; Schefold 1957, 92: locates the painting in the room 21; Moormann 1988, 168, no. 198a/2: herm; Sampaolo 1993, 73–77 (*PPM* 4): herm as Priapus; Sampaolo 1998, 301 (*Romana pictura*): both alternatives; Romizzi 2006, 363, no. 266: Priapus (Dionysus); Lista 2007, 147 (*Rosso pompeiano*): a Priapic herm; Grasso 2009, 102 (*Pittura pompeiana*): Dionysus or Priapus.
Decorative Scheme: In the lower part of the middle zone on both sides of the central panel there are panthers and masks positioned antithetically on violet socles. On the central panel of the south wall, there is a poet and two women. In the upper zone of a wall there was a standing Bacchus, now destroyed. Background is yellow.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: Indoor scene with a vista through a large opening framed with pilasters. Two women wearing colourful robes stand on the left observing the female painter; the one on the right holds a fan in her left hand. The artist sits on a black sella, wearing sandals, a yellow tunic and a violet cloak covering the left shoulder; her head is in depicted in profile and she maintains eye contact with a herm she paints; in her curly dark hair she wears a yellow fillet and bracelets in both wrists; in her right hand she holds a paint brush or a graving tool (Lat. *cestrum*); next to her lies a casket with an open lid, on top of a column drum lying on the ground; in her left bent



A3 MANN 9018 (2017); Original drawing N. La Volpe, MB 7, 3

[358] Though the herm is not identified, it is said that there was a frieze with figures above, and one of these should have been Bacchus.

[359] Spinazzola discusses the marble column and identifies it as cylindrus, a roller.

hand she holds a small vessel. In front of her, a little cloaked boy is leaning with his left elbow on the rectangular base of the bearded hipherm, keeping the painting upright for the artist with his right hand. The hipherm in yellow tunic lifts it with both hands while holding a cantharus in his right hand, and a thyrsus with pine cone upwards in his left; his beard is grey and hair dark; behind the herm is green foliage. The small painting presents a free adaptation of the model herm against a bluish background. Above from the lintel hangs a garland and a bucranium and on the right side pilaster, above the herm there is a small green tabella. The view through the door shows a vase on top of a column on the left and a herm in profile on the right.
Comments: The scene might allude to a historical person, the painter Iaia, a native of Cyzicus, who spent her working life in Rome during the Late Republic;[360] two of her paintings were displayed in Naples (Plin. *nat*. 35, 147–148). The marble column may refer to her origins by the Sea of Marmara and its crystalline marble, marmor Cyzicenum or Proconnesium,[361] otherwise difficult to understand as a support for a flat bottom casket. Iaia is also known for encaustic painting, and the vessel she holds cupped in her left hand is to keep the wax warm. As to the identification of the herm who lifts the hem of the tunic, the position of the hands supports its identification as a Priapus of the *anasyrma* -type. In all cases the identification of painted bearded herms is difficult; this example could be as well Bacchus as a herm. Helbig for his part identified the little boy as a cupid decorated with garlands, copied erroneously without wings; in my mind the boy could also be a satyr with a pine wreath, with the cantharus supporting the identification of the herm as Bacchus; even if Priapus may sometimes be depicted holding both thyrsus and cantharus, but this combination is not usual in Pompeii. There is another painting depicting a female painter with two observers from an unknown location in Pompeii.[362]

A4
Location: Casa di Sextus Pompeius Axiochus VI 13, 19, room *f* (ala) southeast of atrium, central picture of the east wall.
Excavation: 1874.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the standing male figure ca. 35 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1874, 52 (*GdSc N.S* 3:22): male herm; Mau 1875, 190 (*BdI*): Bacchus or Priapus; Sogliano, 1879, 128, no. 227: possibly Priapus; Schefold 1957, 131: Bacchus or Priapus; Sampaolo 1994, 213 (*PPM* 5) and Romizzi 2006, 392 (no. 438): a man (?) in front of a bearded herm.
Decorative Scheme: The socle is black. In the main zone, the paintings are preserved only in their lower parts: side fields are red, central yellow. The central picture on the west wall depicts a female worshipping an unspecified object on the top of a pillar, supposedly a winged phallus or an insect (!). In the predella there may have been a hunting scene.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: An outdoor scene. Sacral landscape, a male figure wearing green shoes and a green-sleeved violet robe with a yellow cloak stands with his arms open in front of a bearded

360 This identification is already in *AdE*.

361 M.D. Higgins – R. Higgins, *A Geological Companion to Greece and the Aegean*, London 1996, 126.

362 MANN 1097, Cf. Grasso 2009, 102.

herm. There is no information on any details of the herm, even of any attributes.
Comments: The lack of specific attributes does not support either of the alternatives, with Bacchus perhaps being a better alternative because of the open arms of the worshipper, as in dances and ecstatic rituals.

A5
Location: Casa dei Vettii VI 15, 1, peristyle *l*, south end of the west wall, vignette on the fourth panel painting.
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the standing female figure ca. 40–44 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1896, 33: una statuetta virile; Sogliano 1898, 273–274 fig. 15, 277–278 (*MonAnt* 8); Moormann 1988, 184, no. 217/6: green-white statue of Dionysus; Sampaolo 1994, 514 (*PPM* 5).
Decorative Scheme: Several paintings in a large peristyle against black background with red frames. Floral decoration with different animals, a philosopher, masks, still lives, and landscapes. On the left wall a parallel couple of satyrs with a thyrsus and a syrinx, and still lives with attributes of Bacchus and Minerva.
Style and Dating: IV.[363]

A5 Pompeii (MonAnt 8, 277–278).

Description: An outdoor scene against a black background with a small statue on a square high pedestal on top of a moulded base, and a main figure standing on a flat slab. The statue depicts a bearded standing male, fully robed with his right side towards the spectator; in his right hand he holds a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves upwards, in the left outstretched hand a patera. A female figure with her weight on the left foot stands in the middle; she is barefoot, and wears a transparent green robe with flowers on the hem, leaving her right shoulder bare; she has a floating cloak behind her back; her face is in ¾ profile and turned towards the statue; in her right hand she holds thyrsus[364] with a bunch of leaves upwards, and under her left arm a tympanum. Both figures have wreath of ivy on their heads.
Comments: The scene depicts a nocturnal ritual by a maenad in front of a bearded fully robed statue of Bacchus of a very small size. The statue is also curiously not in the middle of its pedestal; the reason for this is that it was probably painted later than the main figure, and would have been too near it.

[363] Peters 1977, 107–110 analyses the discussion of the date.

[364] This kind of a decoration of the thyrsus is hereafter considered to be standard. If the decoration differs, it will be described.

A6

Location: Casa della Caccia antica VII 4, 48, room 10 (tablinum), four figures in the openings, Durchblick[365] parts, of the predella.
Excavation: 1833–1835.
Condition: Partly damaged.
Measurements: H of the figures ca. 20 cm.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 181; Moormann 1988,195, no. 245/3: the left painted statue in the west wall bearded Dionysus wearing a long chiton. Other figures were not identified because of their damaged condition; Sampaolo 1995, 562–563 (*PPM Disegnatori*): bearded Dionysus; Allison 1997, 7, 25 (*PPM* 7): says nothing about the statues; Allison 2002, 69 (*HiP* 11): rejects the identification as Dionysus because of the type being too generic.

A6 Pompeii, one of the statues depicting Bacchus (2010); Drawing A. Ala (MANN).

Decorative Scheme: The central paintings depict Cretan myths against a light blue background in panels: on the east wall Theseus and Ariadne, on the west wall Daedalus and Pasiphae. In the side fields there are floating figures. Durchblicks and the upper zones have architectural features, and figures against white background. Under these the socle has marble imitation, and the predella framed hunting cupids and Nilotic scenes.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: White fully robed frontal figures in architecture. Each stands on square pedestals against a red background. The best preserved figure on the west wall (6a) holds a patera in the right hand, a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves upwards in the left hand. In the other figure (6b) the attributes are held in opposite hands. Mirror images are on the same wall.
Comments: The four white figures depict statues of Bacchus, based on attributes and the pose of the standing figure. The statues are not all similar, but have the same features, being standardized, and are located as mirror images. The red background and the height of the architectural frame made the statues very clearly discernible.

A7

Location: Casa dei Postumii/Casa di Marcus Holconius Rufus VIII 4, 4, room 31 (exedra) on the south side of the peristyle, central picture of the south wall.
Excavation: This part of the house 1855–1861, excavations also in 1766.

[365] I prefer this German expression for openings instead of the Italian vista. This is particularly used to describe openings with perspectival architecture.

Condition: Damaged when discovered, probably due to ancient rescue excavation, now destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 123 cm, W 100 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1861, 84 (*GdS*); Minervini 1861, 96 (*BAIt*); Helbig 1868, 300, no. 1356; Fiorelli 1875, 336; Schefold 1957, 224: room 28; *PPP* III, 341; Moormann 1988, 207, no. 270[366]; Bragantini 1998, 503–504 (*PPM* 8); Romizzi 2006, 460, no. 772: mentions only Narcissus and cupid; Hodske 2007, 169, no. 601; Lorenz 2008, 598; Prehn 2018, 67–68, 192–193, no. D5.
Decorative Scheme: Other central pictures depict Bacchus discovering sleeping Ariadne and a hermaphrodite leaning on Silenus. In other panels there are muses, and in the upper zone sitting figures, one of which may be Bacchus.
Style and Dating: IV.[367]
Description: An outdoor scene by a pond. In the foreground a naked kneeling cupid holds a torch towards the mirror image of Narcissus reflected on the surface of the water. Behind the cupid on the left, a pair of legs are visible up till knees; they are covered with a violet robe, but the thighs and the upper body are destroyed, although they are visible in the nude mirror image. This presents Narcissus as bending down, the robe covering indeed only his calves; his right arm is stretched upwards. On the right side of the picture above the pond there are two spearheads, not visible in the mirror image. Behind them, a round red pedestal decorated with flowers and fruits, on the top of which stands a robed bearded plump bronze statue depicted from knees upwards; the statue holds a cantharus in his right outstretched hand and a thyrsus under his left arm. A very small herm depicted in profile is placed leaning on the pedestal.

A7 Drawing A. Aurelj (DAIR).

Comments: Narcissus is one of the most common motifs among Pompeian central paintings.[368] The legs belonging to him represent one of his most characteristic postures, stretching towards his reflection in the water.

[366] Moormann locates the painting on the west wall.

[367] Richardson 2000, 97 attributes the pictures in this room to the Adone Ferito Painter. He does not mention this painting, probably because of its condition.

[368] Hodske 2007, 34–35, 166–171. He counts 52 pictures, which is the second largest amount. There are pictures with one or two spears, and with spear heads up and down. A good parallel to the feet in this picture is from Casa dell'Orso (VII 2, 45), but there is only one spear and only the head is visible in the mirror image, as is the case in the picture from Casa delle Vestali (VI 1, 7.24–26) with a cupid holding a torch from the opposite side.

The Priapic herm leans on the bronze statue of bearded Bacchus, the image showing only ¾ of the body. There are pedestals and various pilasters in several paintings depicting Narcissus, but this statue of Bacchus is unique in Pompeii. The picture was on the back wall, which is the most important in the room.

A8

Location: House of the Negotiator (?) Curvius Marcellus and Fabia IX 2, 18, room *f* (cubiculum) on the left of tablinum, central picture of the north wall.
Excavation: 1870.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 149 cm, W 89 cm.
Bibliography: Brizio 1870, 54–55 (*GdSc N.S.* 2:13): Dioniso barbato[369] coperto di ampia veste – he considers a satyr play by Sophocles as a potential model for the painting; Trendelenburg 1871, 195 (BdI): Bacco imberbe; Fiorelli 1875, 385–386: Dioniso barbato; Sogliano 1879, 132, no. 245: a bronze statue of Dionysus; Rostowzew 1911, 41: calls the architectural structure *das heilige Tor mit dem Baume*; Schefold 1957, 244; *PPP* III, 421; Moormann 1988, 211, no. 280/1; De Carolis 1989, 231–232, 310 (water colour painted 16.10.1888, DAIR 83.228 in Italienische Reise); Sampaolo 1995, 841 (*PPM Disegnatori* a drawing by G. Discanno: statua di Dioniso.); Sampaolo 1999, 68, 70–71 (*PPM* 9); Romizzi 2006, 474, no. 841.

A8 Watercolour by unknown author (DAIR).

Decorative Scheme: Central panel is white, side fields are red. This large landscape probably dominated the room.
Style and Dating: Early III (20 BC – 45 AD).
Description: An outdoor scene with a mountain landscape against a white background. Three grazing goats in the foreground. On the left an oinochoe and Pan in the shape of a hipherm share a pedestal decorated with garlands and a torch(?) leaning on it; behind him there is a leafy bush. In the middle on the undulating terrain there is a shrine made of two columns; several thyrsi[370] are leaning on the base; an amphora is positioned on the other edge of the entablature; below it the column is decorated with a tympanum, a thyrsus and a pedum.[371] Between the columns stands a fully robed bronze statue with a patera in the right hand and thyrsus in the left; his

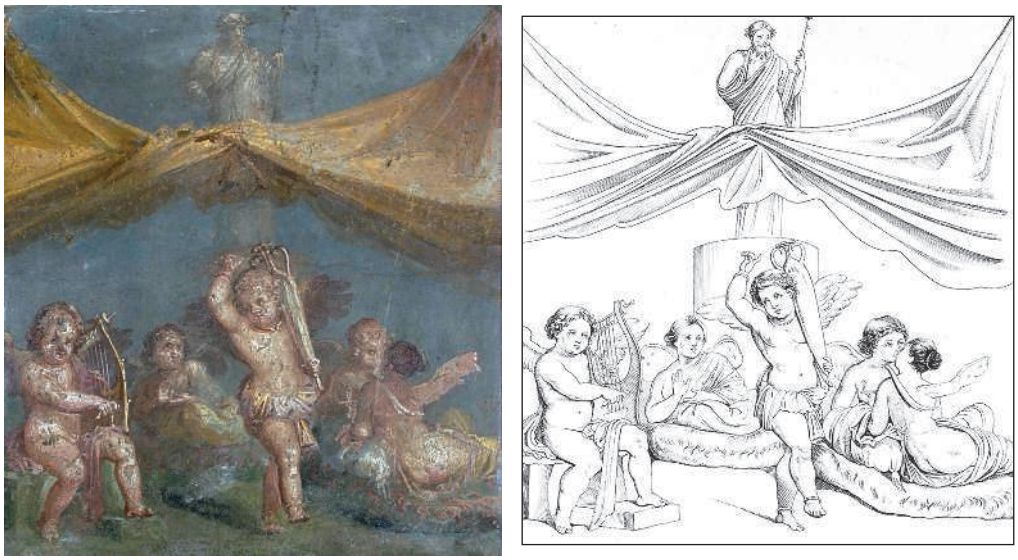
[369] I have to rely on Brizio's first hand information. The beard is not visible in the drawing.

[370] Brizio 1877, 55 and Sogliano 1879, 132: two torches.

[371] Brizio 1877, 55: a staff and two thyrsi.

long hair is covered with an ivy wreath. Behind the columns is a large tree. To the right of the columns, a sphinx with open wings on a low pedestal faces a standing female figure wearing a blue chiton and a yellow cloak, and with an ivy wreath or a fillet on her head; in her uplifted right hand she holds an unidentified object and holds a thyrsus bunch upwards in her left hand. In the background on the left there is a hillock with cypresses are more trees, and on the right a mountain with several rocky peaks.
Comments: Bacchus is often represented in sacro-idyllic landscapes among other statues, in this case a Pan made of bronze and a sphinx of marble. The sphinx may allude to Thebes as the domicile of Semele. I rely on the excavator's report of Bacchus having a beard, though it is no longer clearly visible in drawings. I would see a bearded Bacchus in the drawing by G. Discanno, but e.g. Sampaolo has made no comments of it. The drawing is from the year 1870, so made right after the excavation unlike the later watercolour. The approaching female is either a Maenad or a worshipper. The shrine, a simple structure, protects the statue. A remarkable feature is the asymmetrical position of the ritual requisite.

A9
Location: Casa di Marcus Lucretius IX 3, 5, room 16 (triclinium), southeast of atrium, east of ala, and with a window to the garden; central picture on left side field panel of the east wall. MANN 9207.
Excavation: 1846–1847.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 45 cm, W 40 cm. The statue without the pedestal ca. 18 cm.
Bibliography: Falkener 1852, 64: bearded Bacchus on a pedestal; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 246: Bacchus herm, the cupid's dance refers to a Bacchic cult; Minervini 1856, Tav. 45, 2–5 (*MB* 15); Helbig 1868, 149, no. 759; Herrmann – Bruckmann I, 84; Reinach 1922, 93, no. 3; Rizzo 1929,



A9 MANN 9207 (photo EPUH); Original drawing A. Abbate (MB 15, 45).

tav. 141; Elia 1932, 93, no. 230; Schefold 1957, 249; Thompson 1960, 115; Jashemski 1979, 97, fig. 153, 99; *PPP* III, 440; Moormann 1988, 213, no. 282/7: green statue of Dionysus; Bragantini 1999, 267 (*PPM* 9); Romizzi 2006, 478 (no. 872); Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 96–97.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture of the east wall depicts Hercules visiting Omphale, on the south wall the triumph of the child Bacchus, on the north wall Bacchus setting up a tropaeum. All the pictures in the side fields depict banquets.
Style and Dating: IV, probably AD 65–68.
Description: A symposiac scene al fresco under a baldachin. In the foreground five winged figures: two cupids face the viewer, the one scarcely robed and sitting on the left plays a lyre; the other dancing with his right arm raised in the middle of the picture field wears a loin cloth, is bejewelled and carries a slender transport amphora with long narrow body, long tapering spike, and elaborate handles on top of his left shoulder. The three figures recline on red mattresses and enjoy the banquet; the one in between the cupids is a psyche and wears a yellow robe and is reclining on her right shoulder and clapping her hands. On the left side are two reclining figures facing each other; the one backwards is a Psyche of callipyge type wearing a yellow cloak with red linings and leaning her left elbow on her Cupid companion's thigh, who appears to be kissing the Psyche. Above this composition is a richly folded yellow baldachin behind which stands a fully robed white male statue on a pedestal; he holds his right hand on his hip, in the uplifted left forearm and hand he holds a thyrsus with bunch upwards; the head is presented in ¾ profile; he has a longish beard, wide open eyes and a wreath; the statue is painted with a loose brush and is split in two by the baldachin in front; the statue's round pedestal in scarcely visible behind the dancing cupid and his amphora.
Comments: A marble statue of Bacchus is supervising a banquet with the three less active figures protected by the baldachin, while the god and the performers are on each side of the canopy. The role of wine is emphasized by the amphora, its central position and the almost parallel vertical axis with the statue.

A10
Location: Casa di C. Iulius Polybius IX 13, 3, room *EE* (triclinium or oecus) in the northwest corner of the peristyle, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: Façade 1912, otherwise 1966–1978, north of the peristyle 1975.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 238 cm, W 160 cm.
Bibliography: *PPP* III, 562–564: the punishment of Dirce in front of the sanctuary of Dionysus; *Pompei 1748–1980*, 165: the punishment of Dirce with Apollo; Moormann 1988, 221, no. 303/4: white statue of Dionysus; Richardson 2000, 39, 46: The Boscotrecase Painter; Bragantini 2003, 256–261 (*PPM* 10); Romizzi 2006, 496, no. 997.
Decorative Scheme: Sacro-idyllic landscapes, maenads and cupids as floating figures against a red background on side fields.
Style and Dating: III, phase IIB.
Description: An outdoor scene depicting the punishment of Dirce in two episodes, in a sacred gate in the middle and other minor scenes. In the left foreground two tanned men lead a resisting female; behind them stand a group of seven females in bright coloured robes, each with a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves held high up. A male in white tunic, yellow cloak and a white hat hastens to the scene, pointing with his right hand outstretched. In the right corner the female

is tied below the charging bull, with two persons observing the scene from the high cliffs. In the middle of the punishment scenes stands an architectural structure on rocky terrain; it consists of a low pediment on two columns, and next to it a leaf tree and two low columns. The sacred gate is decorated with a lyre, a tympanum, and ribbons attached to the columns, and a vessel on top. Inside the gate stands a white bearded male statue fully robed on a high pedestal; in his right hand he holds a cantharus upright, and a thyrsus in his upraised left hand with a bunch of leaves upwards. By the pedestal there are more ribbons, thyrsi, and a tabella. Quite in the foreground a flock of brown and white goats by a pond. In the far background on the left there is a pastoral scene with another flock, and a shepherd leaning on his staff. More goats are inside an orthostatic enclosure with columns and a pediment. In the farthest corner a town is dimly visible.

A10 Statue depicting Bacchus stands between the columns, Pompeii (GFN).

Comments: This is a description of the myth of Dirce, a dedicated worshipper of Dionysus. The essential elements of the story appear in the wall painting: the twins Amphion and Zethos punishing her, a marble statue of bearded Bacchus, and the pond created by the god, into which her corpse was thrown. The composition is a varied combination of mythological and pastoral motifs, with both active and passive elements.

A11
Location: Casa di Giuseppe II, VIII 2, 39, MANN 8968.
Excavation: 1769.
Condition: Partially destroyed, otherwise good.
Measurements: H of the painting 79 cm, W 78 cm.
Bibliography: Bechi 1824, Tav. 34, 5 (*MB* 1) identifies Sophonisba, and Apollo as a statue; Helbig 1868, 313, no. 1385: probably Bacchus; Rizzo 1929, tav. 196; Elia 1932, 84, no. 193; Moormann 1988, 207, no. 269/3: archaistic green statue of Dionysus (but classicist Apollo); Parise Badoni 1990, 403 (*PPM* 2); Sampaolo 1998, 354, 356 (*PPM* 8); Ling 2005, 140–141: symposium; Romizzi 2006, 454, no. 741; Hodske 2007, 253, no. 579; Grasso 2009, 249 (*Pittura pompeiana*); Kutner 2013, 220–227: Dionysus, a second now-blurred statue at far right; Lorenz 2018, 146.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: III (Augustan).

A11 MANN 8968 (2017): preserved painting and detail of the statue depicting Bacchus.

Description: An indoor scene with six figures. Two men approaching a kline. The first on the left is wearing a loin cloth and carries a tray with fruit; the second man, fully robed, is looking intensively towards the kline: A semi-recumbent female holds a cup on her right hand; she is deathly pale, seemingly tired, and looks down; she is supported by a man with a cloak around his shoulders and a cap on his head. Two women, the other dark skinned, stand behind, facing each other. At the back of this main scene is a slender high candelabrum and a richly folded light blue baldachin is fastened to columns. Furthest in the background are three openings; the one on the left is a window, the other two openings are partly covered by the baldachin and conceal two statues. In the left intercolumnium is a bearded robed male with a thyrsus in his left arm. In the right intercolumnium there is a naked male raising his right hand with an arrow and holding a bow in his left. Both are wreathed and presented in ¾ profile.
Comments: This is either a generic scene of a convalescing or a dying female supported by her relatives or servants, or a historical scene of Scipio Africanus visiting Sophonisba in her "suicidal symposium" in 203 BC; she was Hasdrubal's daughter, a Punic noble, who persuaded her first husband Syphax to support the Carthaginians, then left him after his defeat and took poison handed by her second husband Massinissa, to avoid being transported for the triumph in Rome (among others Pol. 17,7, Liv. 30,13–15, Cass. Dio 17 in Zonar. 9, 13[372]). According to this in-

[372] E.g. Cass. Dio 17 in Zonar. 9, 13: *Scipio, feeling suspicious about this action of Masinissa, called him and censured him for having so speedily married without his consent a woman taken captive from the enemy, and he bade him give her up to the Romans. Masinissa was greatly grieved, and rushing into the tent where Sophonisba was, cried out to her: "If I might by my own death have ensured you liberty and freedom from outrage, I would cheerfully have died for you; but since this is impossible, I send you before me whither I and all shall go." With these words he offered her poison. And she uttered neither lament nor moan, but very nobly replied: "Husband, if this is our will, I am content. My soul shall after you know no other lord; as for my*

terpretation Scipio would be the second man in the left and Massinissa the one supporting the female. This is plausible, taking into consideration the central position of the vessel held by the female, and the generally dark complexion of the other figures may refer to African decent. The statues of Bacchus and Apollo refer to the Hellenistic multiculturalism in northern Africa, even to the honourable afterlife.[373] The baldachin may also refer to the milieu of the event, a military camp. The Sophonisba painting could be the only concrete reference to triumphal narrative-paintings.[374] The subject may have been chosen during the time when Livy published the story in his histories, and Carthage was flourishing as a refounded Roman colony. In Pompeii, in the Casa del Fabbro I 10, 7 there is a variant without the statues of Bacchus and Apollo.

A12

Location: Casa di A. Octavius Primus VII 15, 12, room *d* (triclinium) in the left front corner (west) of atrium, central picture of the north wall.
Excavation: 1872–1873.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 170 cm, W 110 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1873, 235 (*BdI*); Sogliano 1879, 221–222, no. 687; Rostowzew 1911, 41–42: *Die heilige Schola mit Baum oder Götterstatue*, Priapus herm;[375] Herrmann – Bruckmann I, 205; Schefold 1957, 208: Priapus herm; *PPP* III, 234–235; Moormann 1988, 200, no. 260: Dionysus herm; Sampaolo 1997, 832–833 (*PPM* 7): Dionysus with a cantharus.
Decorative Scheme: Socle is red. Middle zone with red frames in the central panel, side panels are black.
Style and Dating: III (Sampaolo: phase II) or less likely IV (Moormann; Schefold: Vespasian).
Description: A landscape with several figures against a white background. In the foreground

A12 Watercolour by unknown author (DAIR).

body, if Scipio requires that, let him take it with life extinct." Thus she died, and Scipio marvelled at the deed. Translated by E. Carey on the basis of H.B. Foster (1914). – Even the Finnish poet V.A. Koskenniemi wrote a poem about the wedding night of Massinissa in 1915.

373 E.g. Orphic text refer to Apollo as the resurrector of Dionysus, F. Graf – S.I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife. Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets*, London 2013, 76–80.

374 Kutner 2013, 227.

375 Rostowzew's fig. 20 is quite different from the drawings depicting this painting. According to Schefold it is VI 16, 15.

are grazing goats by a pond. On the left, a man leaning on his staff stretches his right hand towards a semi-circular architectural structure. It consists of a podium, two (visible) columns, and an entablature. The shorter column on the left tapers into a male herm, holding a cantharus in his outstretched right hand, and in his left a thyrsus with a bunch and ribbons upwards. The other column on the right is much narrower and longer, decorated with an arrow, quiver, and a spear, ending in a crown. Inside the shrine a robed figure in bluish grey, with a mural crown, is reclining; it is a statue sitting on a red klismos, with a round object in the right hand and an upright spear in the left. A large leafy tree is growing by the shrine, in front of which is an offering table, decorated with two thyrsi. From the left, a long wall extends towards the shrine, with another small tree and bushes growing behind it. Further in the background are two hillocks.
Comments: Bacchus is depicted as a hip herm in the function of a column; the outdoor shrine of schola type is dedicated to goddess Diana, depicted as a seated statue. The high slender column has been considered a baetylus. The combination of these two divinities is rare in Pompeii, although it suits their shared rural roles.

A13
Location: Pompeii but precise location not known. MANN 9658.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 40 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 103, no. 410: bearded Dionysus; Schefold 1957, 351: Sabazius of Thracian/Phrygian origin; Gasparri 1986, 544 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 33: standing Bacchus.[376]
Decorative Scheme: Not known, probably from a dado/predella like No. A6 (Caccia antica).
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: An outdoor scene with a bearded man against a black background. He wears a long red chiton with a double fold; in his right hand he holds a patera, and in his left an upright thyrsus with a bunch of leaves upward. At some distance above his head is a large parasol (umbella, σκίρον, σκιάδειον).
Comments: The male's attributes support his identification as Bacchus. A feature typical to parasols in vase painting are the fringes, not any longer visible in the wall painting. The sunshade, which was used by noble men and women, is also shown shading Bacchus on a sarcophagus from the British Museum, inv. 1805,0703.130, depicting the marriage procession of Bacchus and Ariadne. In Pompeii, it is depicted above Dido in House VI 9, 2. MANN 8898. The red colour of the robe is not very common. The black background may refer to dark shadows on a sunny day.

A13 MANN 9658.

[376] M. Pagano – R. Prisciandaro 2006, claims in their index (vol. 2, 43) that this painting comes from Villa San Marco, in Stabiae. However, they do not have any corresponding entry in the section discussing Stabiae from the excavation under the date 20th of March 1752 on page 238.

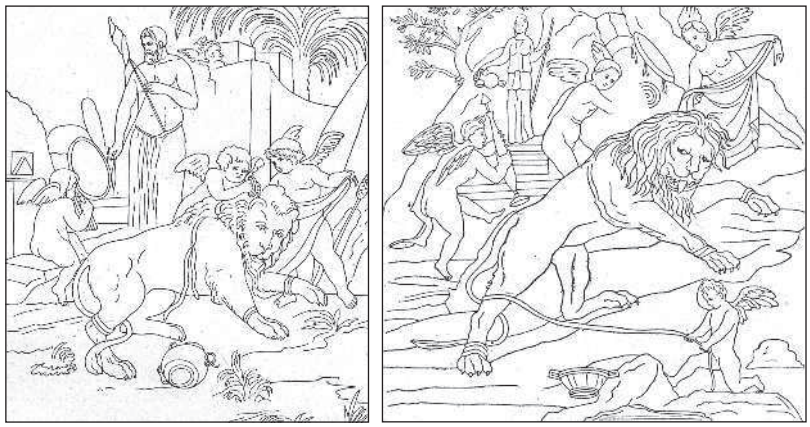
A14 Emblema
Location: Casa del Centauro VI 9,3.5, room 27 (triclinium) north of tablinum and opening to the garden, the emblema mosaic from the floor, MANN 10019.
Excavation: 1829.
Condition: Mainly good, but with few destroyed parts even in the figures, partially restored.
Measurements: Diameter 168 cm, with frames 252 cm.
Bibliography: *PAH* II, 222: Degli Amorini vi tengono legato con de' serti di fiori un leone in mezzo delle Baccanti. Vi si distingue un tempio ed un simulacro, che versa da un vaso il liquore; Finati 1831, *MB* 7, tavola 61: La Forza vinta dall'amore… una Sacerdotessa in atto di eseguire una libazione, reggendo nella sinistra un'asta, ornate come un tirso; Fiorelli 1875, 134: pavimento di musaico era abbellito da quella rappresentazione del leone tra vari Amorini; Ruesch 1908, 62, no. 211: Leone ed Amorini; Rizzo 1929, 61[377]; Elia 1932, 146: la statua di Dioniso col tirso; Pernice 1938, 159–161, Taf. 60: Dionysus; Meyboom 1977, 89 note 287 identifies the mosaic to the workshop of Casa del Fauno; Sampaolo 1986, 118–119, no. 21: Dioniso in lunga veste; Blanc – Gury 1986, 1031 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido no. 632: statue de Bacchus (acéphale); Bragantini 1993, 855, 857 (*PPM* 4): un leone cacciato da amorini dinanzi a due Menadi e a una statua di Dioniso; Meyboom 1995, 361 note 11; King 2002, 440; Andreae 2003, 188–201: Dionysos … als Statue; Wyler 2020, 100.

A14 MANN 10019. Though the drawing defines the statue as a priestess, the mosaic figure is acephalous. The best parallel discovered in Antium shows a bearded figure (Ant. Comunale, Rome) but with a bare chest. The long robe is more usual to bearded statues of Bacchus but young beardless men also exist, e.g. MANN 9276 from Herculaneum. Possibly the oldest parallel is now in the British museum. Drawing G. Marsigli, MB 7 (1831), tav. 61.

Decorative Scheme: Paintings of the third style, and a marble statue (Hercules with a dog?).
Style and Dating: II, late second or early first century BC.[378]
Description: The circular shaped emblema is laid with opus vermiculatum technique of terracotta and limestone tesserae, framed with braided ornament or guilloché. The composition

[377] Rizzo's plate 119b depicts only a parallel to the mosaic, from Antium (Anzio) and falsely depicted as Hercules.

[378] The dating varies from the late second to the early first century BC. As an emblema it was customarily prefabricated before attaching to the floor. – The stylistic comparison of mosaics is not explicit. Clarke 2007, 324–325, 328–329, 331; De Vos 1979, 170–171; Ling 1998, 34–41.



Parallels of A14 Reinach 82, 2–3 (RP 1922).

of eight human figures and a lion is depicted in a rocky sacral landscape against a white background. The main scene in the centre consists of the lion and five cupids, surrounded by three adults in smaller scale.

In the foreground two cupids with small bluish wings stand backwards to the viewer, while trying to catch the attention of the lion; the one on the left carries a torch in his raised right hand, and the other on the right three flowers; they have small cloaks either covering the left arm or the left shoulder. The yellowish male lion is in ¾ profile, head to the right; he is tied with a garland over his back and bands over the paws. Behind on the left a cupid with white wings sits on a rock playing the kithara[379]. A standing cupid by the lion's neck is almost destroyed, as is also a third cupid with a cornucopia on the right and partly behind the lion's head. Next to him lies a thyrsus on the ground. On the right side of the composition there is a tall tree with leaves of various colours. Some flowers and tree trunks are dispersed on the ground in places.

On the left of the main composition a robed female is sitting on a stepped rock or a tree trunk, head frontally, but otherwise in ¾ profile; her slippers seem to be in different colours, one red, other white or barefooted, and she wears a white robe with a pale greenish cloak and a wreath on her head; in her right hand she holds a thyrsus.

On the right side of the main composition another female depicted in ¾ profile is sitting on a stepped rock or a tree trunk; her slippers seem to be of different colours, red and yellow; she wears a pale robe, and a yellow cloak over the thighs; her open hair is decorated with vine leaves; in her right hand she holds a vessel over her right knee, while supporting herself with her left hand.

Furthest in the background on the left there is an aedicula by a hillock, against which a red tympanon is placed. An acephalous figure stands on a high base in ¾ profile, robed in a yellowish tunic and cloak; the figure carries a thyrsus in the left hand and a vessel in the right, pouring wine on the panther lying by the tympanon. Behind the statue is a white altar with a lidded neck amphora on top and some leafy trees behind.

[379] Blanc – Gury comment the restorations, e.g. "vraisemblement syrinx restaurée en lyre".

Comments: This is a heavily restored outdoor scene in a sacral landscape with a two-layered composition. The cupids being busy around the lion is the playful main motif, while the two seated maenads take part in a cultic activity by the statue on the podium, thus identified also by the overall yellow colour indicating a statue made of bronze. Even if the head of the statue is lost, the identification of the figure as Bacchus is more plausible with numerous parallels to his repetitive activity of pouring wine on a panther than a priestess of Bacchus. Interpreting the central scene as the triumph of love over brutal force has drawn most of the scholars' attention, leaving the background events in smaller scale with less notice. Furthermore, the references to wine, the drinking vessel in the hand of the maenad, the amphora uppermost on the scene, and finally the statue pouring wine from a jug, all point to the cult of Bacchus in his presence.

Variations and parallels in the main scene are known. Due to its small size perhaps the oldest in the British Museum depicts four cupids with a lion and a statue of Bacchus identified as such quite without doubt. Another parallel comes from Antium, also with the statue of Bacchus and now three cupids with a lion.[380] The Pompeian mosaic is the only one of circular shape and unusually large giving thus space besides the main scene to the encircling additional figures; they are isolated without visible interaction.

The question of workshop remains open, and the similarities in mosaics in many places depended more on fashion than on a workshop.[381] Pattern books were surely in active use.

The bearded Bacchus is nearly always presented as a statue in these thirteen paintings, possibly excepting A13, which also stands out due to his red robe and parasol. Otherwise, there is some variety in these depictions: four herms, two statues with partly hidden legs (with baldachin, or because of an awkward visual angle upwards), six full-length statues, and one remaining unknown with no specific verbal information. The identification of the bearded male is not always unambiguous;[382] he may easily be confused with Priapus, or indeed any generic archaistic statue. In many cases these statues are represented in diminutive scale in a landscape, often identified as sacro-idyllic. The combination of the beard and being fully clothed refers to the more advanced age of the divinity, as supported also by the use of a parasol. The archaistic figures often wear long chitons, which is considered a reference to the theatre.[383] It has been claimed that Dionysus/Bacchus was the male deity most commonly archaized in Hellenistic and Roman times,[384] and during the reign of Augustus and in the first century AD the Neo-Attic style was favoured, especially in sculpture.

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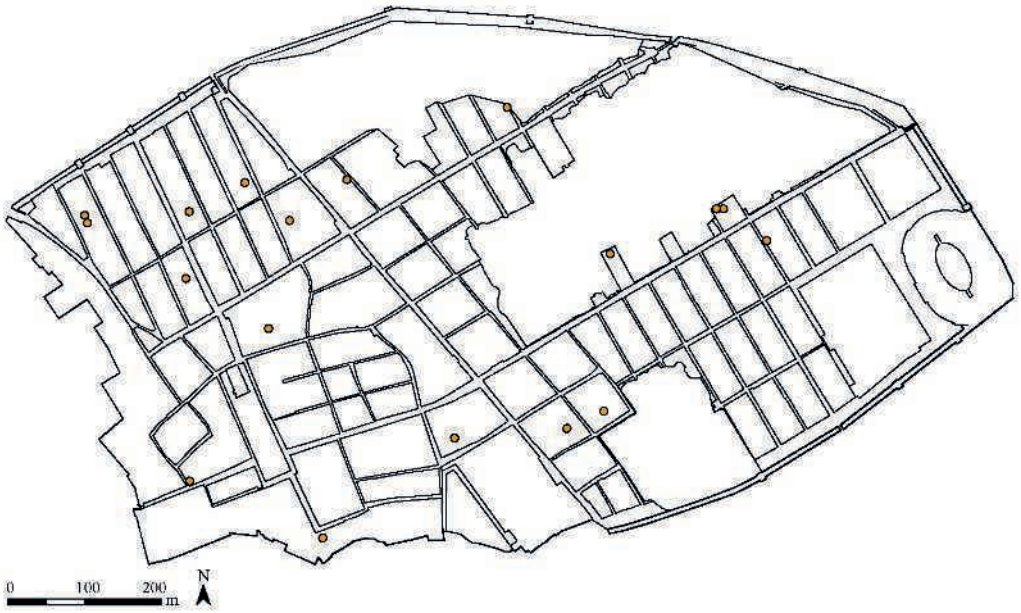
[380] BM inv. 1856, 1213.5; the size of the mosaic is 37.2 x 37.7 cm. The other mosaic was discovered in Antium, now in Rome (Ant. Comunale); its size is 70.9 x 71.5 cm. Andreae 2003, 188, 190, 193.

[381] Westgate 2000, 270. According to Tammisto 1997, 162–168, 442, our mosaic came perhaps from the workshop which also worked in the Casa del Fauno, with its seat most likely in Puteoli.

[382] On the criteria of painted images as statues, Moormann 1988, 9–10; Moormann 2008, 198–199.

[383] Scatozza Höricht 2001–2002, 28, refers to statues of the type known as Dionysus Sardanapalus, with its origin in the Dionysus theatre in Athens.

[384] Fullerton 1990, 127–128, 132–162.



Location of B1–B20.

YOUNG BACCHUS ALONE OR WITH A PANTHER

B – Young Bacchus Alone

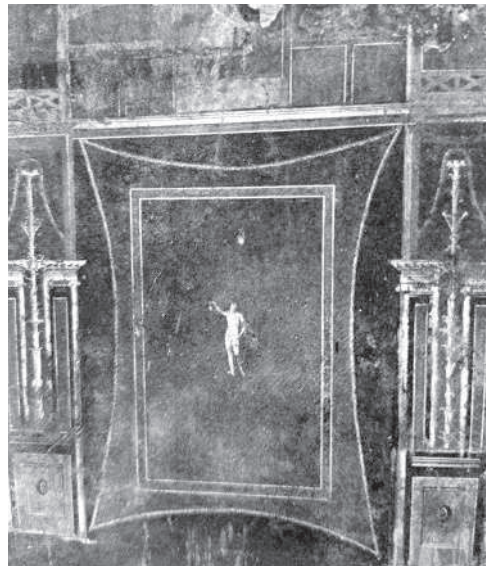
Presenting Bacchus alone, either standing, sitting, or as a bust in a medallion, was a relatively common motif in Pompeian wall paintings. Twenty entries cover this subject in the catalogue (standing B1–9, sitting B10–18 and as a bust B19–20), and the main basis for the figure's identification as Bacchus is the presence of a thyrsus, a cantharus, some other vessel, or a bunch of grapes.

B1
Location: Casa di Pinarius Cerialis/Casa dell'orefice/Casa di Ifigenia, house with a goldsmiths's workshop, III 4, 4 (III 4 b), room *b* (exedra/anteroom) in north end of the peristyle, upper zone of the north wall, western aedicula.
Excavation: 1916–1917, 1926.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the figure from feet to the top of the thyrsus ca 30 cm.
Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953, 707; Schefold 1957, 60: youth; *PPP* I, 254: naked man (offerente maschile nudo);

B1 Pompeii (GFN), also PPM 3, 448.

Moormann 1988, 162, no. 182/2: nude Dionysus with a syrinx; A. de Vos 1991, 435–436, 438, 448 (*PPM* 3): possibly Dionysus.
Decorative Scheme: The socle is black and red. The central zone has yellow and red panels with floating figures. The upper zone has simple architectural structures against a white background. Inside them is e.g. a robed female and a cupid. The pictorial programme refers to Bacchus with many of his attributes in various places.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: Inside an aedicula, on top of a landscape painting, a youth painted in reddish brown stands with his weight on his right foot, turning slightly to the right, the wreathed head looking to the left. He wears a yellow chlamys, red inside, and a pardalis with brown and yellow figures. In his right hand with outstretched forearm he holds a rhyton, in his left arm a beribboned thyrsus. In the socle of the aedicula there is a harbour view. On a garland to the left of the aedicula stands a peacock. The parallel picture of Bacchus is destroyed.
Comments: The pictorial programme as a whole and the posture of the youth support the identification as Bacchus, depicted half naked. The rhyton is not the most common attribute, but appears in several paintings in Pompeii. It has been suggested that the youthful male figure often depicted in South Italian vase painting is Dionysus in his role as god of the mysteries.[385] Further on I shall present another interpretation for the young man's role more important in viticulture and fertility.

B2
Location: Casa di Pinarius Cerialis/Casa dell'orefice/Casa di Ifigenia, house with a goldsmiths's workshop, III 4, 4 (III 4 b), room *g* (oecus)[386] on the east side of the peristyle, central panel of the east wall.
Excavation: 1916–1917, 1926.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953 II, 690–692; Schefold 1957, 60: floating youth, room *e*; *PPP* I, 256: vignette Dionysus; A. de Vos 1991, 475, 477 (*PPM* 3): Dionysus, room *g*; García y García 2006, 57, 59–60.
Decorative Scheme: The red socle was unfinished in AD 79. Inside the other fields of the central zone, floating horae or sacrificing figures. In the architectural structures of the upper zone, a standing man, perhaps a poet.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A floating naked youth, weight on



B2 Pompeii, detail from Spinazzola 1953, fig. 657.

[385] Trendall 1989, 256.

[386] The room could have been used as a space to sell the gems, or even as cubiculum.

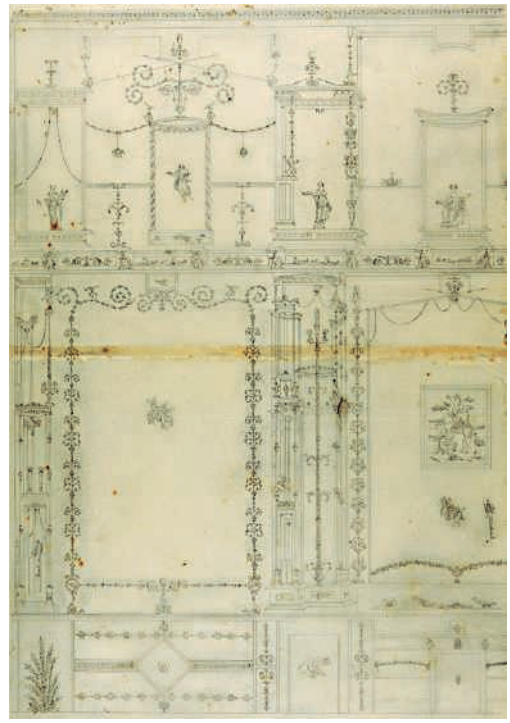
his left foot, on a darkish yellowish background (Spinazzola: fragorosamente giallo). His right arm is raised and he is hanging a chalice; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus with a pine cone or a bunch of leaves downwards, and a nebris on his left arm.
Comments: Almost naked Bacchus with thyrsus, depicted as a floating figure, larger than the floating figures on both side fields. He gives special attention to the chalice, which is quite rare.

B3
Location: Casa di Caecilius Iucundus, V 1, 26, room *p* (cubiculum) at the north end of the peristyle, alcove on the east wall.
Excavation: 1844, 1875, Swedish project 2000–2011.
Condition: Nearly destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figure ca 30 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1876, 229 (*BdI*): standing Bacchus; Sogliano 1879, 118, no. 158; Schefold 1957, 68: room *q* possibly because of Mau's mention of cubiculum to which opens the fourth door. First door opens to the house V 1, 23; *PPP* II, 27; A. de Vos 1991, 614, 616 (*PPM* 3); Karivieri 2014, 98–99, 105–108.
Decorative Scheme: Socle is violet, central and upper zones have a white background. On the south wall there is a maenad with a thyrsus, on the west Erato at play, in the alcove to the north a floating figure, a central picture depicting Mars and Venus, and a cupid on the right.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A standing youth with a thyrsus in his right hand, a violet cloak on his left arm.
Comments: An almost naked Bacchus, based on the thyrsus and other figures. The pictorial programme refers to love, and unites Venus and Bacchus as in room *t*. The picture of Bacchus is located in a niche for a bed, which is rare.

B4
Location: Fullonica di Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus, VI 8,20, room 10, big atrium-like space on the east side of the peristyle, next to a marble fountain.
Excavation: 1824–1829, possibly 1826.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Bechi 1827, tav. 48–49, 9 (*MB* 4); Gell 1832, 190; Fiorelli, 144–145 (*PAH* II); Helbig 1868, 97–98, no. 390; Fiorelli 1875, 123–124; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 390–393; Warscher, *Marmi*, 520–521; Schefold 1957, 107; PPP *II*, 174; Jashemski 1993, 134–135; Sampaolo 1993, 605 (*PPM* 4).
Decorative Scheme: Apollo is on the other side of the basin, on the pillar to the north is Sarnus and the snakes. On the south pillar, depictions of a fullonica, now in the MANN. On the east wall, a young standing Bacchus with a panther.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A youth next to foliage *a chiaroscuro*, painted in white on a red background.
Comments: A young Bacchus, with very little surviving information. The combination of pictures in the fountain is unique: Bacchus and Apollo linked to the local river god and snakes typical for lararia. The two Bacchi are located very near each other in this working and living space.

B5
Location: House VI 14, 40, room *f* (tablinum), north wall, upper zone, central panel.
Excavation: 1846, 1876.
Condition: Nearly destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figure 45 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1877, 211(*BdI*); Sogliano 1879, 118 (no. 157); Schefold 1957, 137; Bragantini 1994, 399, 401 (*PPM* 5).
Decorative Scheme: The socle is black with floral motifs, the central zone is red with panels divided with bands, and between the fields are candelabra with twining plants. The upper zone has a white background. On the other walls, Apollo and Ceres.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A youth standing with his weight on his left foot, wearing yellow boots, a red cloak covering his back and forearms; a band from the right shoulder goes to the left hip. On his head is a vine wreath. In his right hand he holds a cantharus, in his left a thyrsus.
Comments: Young almost naked Bacchus. The band is rare, the boots or high footwear are more common.

B6
Location: Casa della Parete nera/Casa dei Bronzi, VII 4, 59, room *y* (exedra) southwest of the peristyle, west wall, central zone, left opening (Durchblick).
Excavation: 1832–1834.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 187–188; Moormann 1988, 196, no. 247: statues of Dionysus; Staub Gierow 1997, 133 (*PPM* 7); Bragantini 1995, 238–239 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Staub Gierow 2000, 57, 62, fig. 181; Staub Gierow 2008, 179, 183, no. 211.
Decorative Scheme: On the parallel east wall, a statue of Minerva, while the one on the west wall is unidentifiable. Various other figures. Cupids and psychae sacrifice to Juno and Mars as central pictures on the south wall, on the west wall to Priapus. In the upper zone of the south wall is Jupiter, on the west wall Danae.
Style and Dating: IV imitating III (Vespasian).
Description: A statue painted yellow (gilded) against a black background, seen through a door, above a low door leaf. Both in front and



B6 Drawing G. Abbate (MANN). The statue depicting Bacchus stands below on the left.

B7 Pompeii (2010).

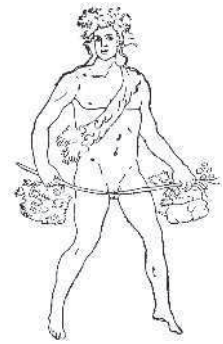
behind the naked male statue are slender columns in various colours. The youthful wreathed figure depicted frontally stands on a high pedestal. In his left hand he holds a thyrsus.
Comments: The identification of the statue as a young almost naked Bacchus is supported by the whole set of different divinities, along with his characteristic attributes.

B7
Location: Casa di C. Iulius Polybius, IX 13, 1-3, room GG on the north of the peristyle, west wall, upper zone.
Excavation: Façade 1912, otherwise 1966–1978, north of the peristyle 1975.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 65 cm.
Bibliography: 'Notiziario: attività archeologica' *CrPomp* 1 (1975), 247; de Franciscis 1988, 28–29; *La Casa di Giulio Polibio* 2001, 297.
Decorative Scheme: Several figures in the white upper zone, e.g. a cupid with a fruit basket and a thyrsus. In the central zone, mythological central pictures, e.g. Apollo and Daphne, a hermaphrodite and a cupid, and birds and still lives.
Style and Dating: IV (or late III, Neronian).
Description: A youth stands slightly turned to the right, with his weight on his right foot, on a white background. He has a band of ivy across his chest descending from the left shoulder, and an ivy wreath on his long curly dark brown hair. The right forearm is outstretched, and he holds a long bunch of grapes. On his left upraised forearm he carries a greenish grey cloak, also covering the left shoulder, and a thyrsus with a bunch and a ribbon upwards.
Comments: An almost naked young Bacchus with several attributes, such as the grapes and a thyrsus. – Grapes seem to be even a more favoured attribute of Bacchus than previously thought.[387]

[387] E.g. Michel 1990, 77, presents four cases. See my Concluding Remarks.

B8

Location: Possibly from Pompeii, Collection Stroganoff in Rome, present not known.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H 52 cm, W 34 cm.
Bibliography: Pollak 1912, 81; Reinach 1922, 107, no. 6.
Description: A youth is tiptoeing to the right, his torso presented frontally and his richly wreathed head slightly turned to the right. He carries two baskets of grapes with a cowl staff. He wears a band of leaves descending from the left shoulder across the chest.



B8 Photo from Pollak 1912, pl. 49 and drawing from Reinach 107, 6 (RP 1922).

Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: II (Pollak), but probably III or IV.
Comments: The figure is neither a typical Bacchus nor a satyr. A band is also seen with the figures in B5, B7, and C18, all securely identified as Bacchus. In contrast, satyrs carry a pedum and a basket in their hands in the painted herms of the amphitheatre of Pompeii. The painting may be a forgery, which is difficult to verify.

B9

Location: Casa delle Amazzoni, VI 2, 14, room 11 (triclinium) north of the garden, east wall, upper zone.
Excavation: 1810.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 95: heros and a vase (trophy); Bragantini 1993, 168, 176–177, 180 (*PPM* 4); Bragantini 1995, 101 (*PPM Disegnatori*).
Description: A youth standing with his weight on his right foot, on a red background, head slightly turned to the left. His right arm is raised to the top of his head, and in his raised left arm he holds a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves upwards. A large green cloak covers his left shoulder and reaches to his calves.

B9 Drawing F. Morelli in 1812 (MANN). Bacchus stands inside a central pavilion in the upper zone.

Decorative Scheme: Possibly a mourning Ariadne or the gods of light; a cupid and thyrsi; amazons; in the upper zone of the east wall there are swans and sitting women inside architectural structures.
Style and Dating: IV.
Comments: An almost naked young Bacchus with a thyrsus.

B10

Location: Casa dei Dioscuri, VI 9, 6-7, room 43 (oecus) next to the tablinum, west wall, in the middle of the upper zone.
Excavation: 1826.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Richardson 1955, 31: a goddess, probably Libera or Ariadne; Schefold 1957, 118: Bacchus; Bragantini 1993, 928 (*PPM* 4): Dionysos.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture represents Minos and Scylla on the west wall, on the north wall in the upper zone is the birth of Adonis with Fortuna, and an enthroned Juno on the south wall.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: An enthroned frontal figure holds a cantharus in his right hand and a thyrsus in his left; the hips and legs are covered with a himation.
Comments: The identification of this partly robed and effeminate figure as Bacchus with his characteristic attributes is more likely than Libera or Ariadne, who are seldom depicted in this pose.

B10 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

B11

Location: Casa dei Vettii, VI 15, 1.27, room p (triclinium) northeast of the peristyle, south wall, upper zone, central part, in the architectural decoration.
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: Damaged. Left shoulder destroyed, fractures throughout the painting.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 70 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1896, 55; Sogliano 1898, 311–312 (*MonAnt* 8); Schefold 1957, 146; Peters 1977, 106; Archer 1989, 235–237; Sampaolo 1994, 533 (*PPM* 5).
Decorative Scheme: On the opposite north wall, a seated Apollo, and a seated Fortuna in the east. The central picture on the south wall depicts Bacchus discovering Ariadne E9.[388]

B11 The seated Bacchus inside a central pavilion in the upper zone, Pompeii (2017).

[388] For the iconographic programme of the central pictures, see Wirth 1983, 452–454 and Clarke 1991, 221–227.

Style and Dating: IV.
Description: Inside an aedicula on a white background, a youth sits on a throne with his legs on a footstool; he leans with his left hand on a long thyrsus and wears high boots and a red cloak on his hips; the yellowish legs of the throne are turned.
Comments: The whole south wall is thematically Bacchic, and this young half-naked Bacchus is depicted among other gods in the architecture of the upper zone.

B12
Location: Casa di Romolo e Remo, VII 7, 10, room c (cubiculum), first room on the west side of the atrium. **Excavation:** 1859.
Condition: Destroyed. Headless already when discovered.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1879, 119, no. 162: Bacchus because of the delicate form of the figure; Schefold 1957, 194; Sampaolo 1997, 259 (*PPM* 7).
Decorative Scheme: One cupid with a basket and a torch, two others with a discus and possibly a sceptre.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A sitting figure turns to the left. The lower part of his body is covered with a dark red cloak with a sleeve on the right arm, in which rests a thyrsus. The upper part of the body otherwise naked.
Comments: Another variation of a common theme, in which the figure is identified by the thyrsus and the pose.

B13
Location: Formerly a house, later part of the Sarno baths, VIII 2, 21, room z' (cubiculum) on the lower floor, next to the town wall of Pompeii, north wall of the room, upper zone, central aedicula.
Excavation: 1888–1891.
Condition: Almost destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1893, 41 (*NSA*) room ϑ; Niccolini (1896, IV Nuovi scavi), 57; Noack – Lehmann 1936, 95 room ζ, no mention of Bacchus; Schefold 1957, 214 room ζ; *PPP* III, 300; Sampaolo 1998, 160–161 (*PPM* 8).
Decorative Scheme: Maenads and flowers next to the figure. Elsewhere in the room animal themes, heroes, Apollo, possibly Venus, masks, and candelabra.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: Naked youth on a throne, holding a thyrsus in his right hand.
Comments: Similar to B12 above.

B14
Location: Casa dei Postumii/Casa di Marcus Holconius Rufus, VIII 4, 4, possibly room 31 (exedra) south of the peristyle, upper zone.
Excavation: This part probably 1855. Excavations also in 1766 and 1861.
Condition: Destroyed. Damaged already when discovered.
Measurements: Not known.

Bibliography: Fiorelli 1861, 89 (*GdSc*): probably sitting Bacchus in the middle of cupids; Minervini 1861, 94–95 (*BAIt*): no identification; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 296: mentions other figures probably as Adonis and Danae; Schefold 1957, 224: does not mention the room 28; Bragantini 1998, 506 (*PPM* 8); Bragantini – Sampaolo 1995, 692–693 (*PPM Disegnatori*) because of the drawing and the order of the catalogue a sitting Bacchus.
Decorative Scheme: Bacchus discovers Ariadne E13, Narcissus with a statue of Bacchus in the background A7, and a hermaphrodite leaning on Silenus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A youth sitting frontally on a throne with a footstool and turned legs; he supports his left elbow on the back of the throne, while holding a thyrsus in his raised right hand; a cloak covers his thighs and the throne, and his left hand touches his left ear. In the drawing, the decoration on top of the thyrsus is a disc-like element with a ribbon and curved tip.

B14 Drawing N. La Volpe (MANN).

Comments: The drawing and Fiorelli's description may not belong together, or La Volpe may have changed it. There are several Bacchic motifs elsewhere in this house, one of which is positively this sitting young Bacchus. The thyrsus decoration is exceptional, otherwise the iconography is similar to the entries above.

B15
Location: Casa di D. Octavius Quartio/Loreius Tiburtinus, II 2, 2.5, room f (oecus), south wall, upper zone.
Excavation: 1916.
Condition: Partially destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953 I, 385–387: room cella Dianea–Isiaca; Schefold 1957, 52: Bacchus-Ariadne; M. de Vos and Bragantini 1991, 42–43, 70 (*PPM* 3); Tronchin 2006, 216–227, 278–279: Dionysiac/Bacchic elements in the central section (with no identification), Isiac religion; Bassani 2008, 174–175; Scapini 2016, 174–176.
Decorative Scheme: The socle is black. Other zones are mainly white due to the ornate tapestries, although the background of the central zone is black. The panels are divided with openings (Durchblick), also against a black background. Besides the Isiac themes, there are two medallions with Bacchic motifs; in one a drunken maenad (?) drinking from a glass cup, and in the other a maenad offering drink to a satyr.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A sitting youth barefoot on a throne. In his left hand he holds a thyrsus with a ribbon and a bunch of leaves on top. A cloak covers his left thigh, otherwise he is naked.
Comments: Young sitting Bacchus, on account of the pose and the thyrsus. The decoration clearly indicates cultic purposes.

B15 Pompeii (2009).

B16
Location: Casa delle Amazzoni, VI 2, 14, room 10 (oecus) south of the garden.
Excavation: 1810.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Breton 1870, 310: Bacchus; Bragantini (*PPM* 4, 176–177): damaged paintings are unidentifiable.
Decorative Scheme: The counterpart is Silenus with a donkey.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A figure sitting on a barrel.
Comments: Most sources do not mention this painting at all. Bacchus and a barrel is a rare combination, but the playful nature of the two counterparts supports the identification. Silenus is also shown riding a donkey in D14. This kind of humorous iconography is more common in Bacchic sculpture.[389] Barrels were relatively rare in the first century AD, with increasing use in place of amphorae becoming more usual in the later second century.[390] The scene combines Bacchus with his characteristic product in an unusual reference.

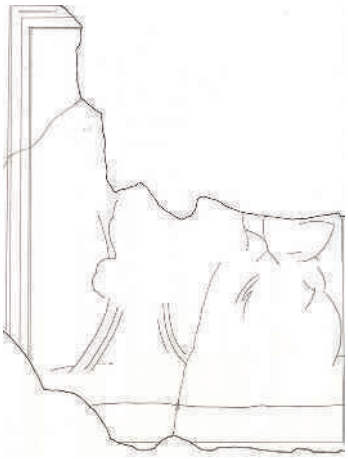
B17
Location: Casa del Menandro, I 10, 4, room 23 (exedra) south of the peristyle, south wall, central picture. **Excavation:** 1928.
Condition: Almost destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: von Salis 1954, 345–351: Bacchus on a throne, similar to the Bacchus in the Casa del Naviglio; Schefold 1957, 42 possibly Bacchus; Clarke 1991, 191 possibly Bacchus; Ling 2005,

[389] E.g. a bronze statuette found in the Villa dei Papiri, in which Silenus rides a wineskin, MANN 5015.

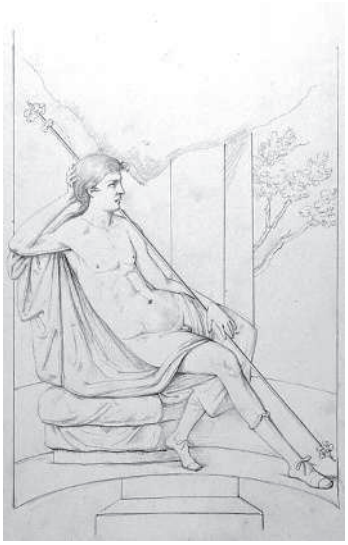
[390] C. Holleran, *Shopping in Ancient Rome. The Retail Trade in the Later Republic and the Principate*, Oxford 2012, 40, 169–172.

86–87 and 238.
Decorative Scheme: Menander and another poet, masks.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A figure sitting on a chair (clismus), with a robe covering his legs.
Comments: Among the poets, this much taller figure must be identified as Bacchus; this matches the overall pictorial programme connected to theatre. All the figures are sitting on klismoi, a type of seat quite rare for Bacchus.

B18
Location: Casa dei Guerrieri, I 3, 25, room *h* (oecus) south of the garden, east wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1869.
Condition: Damaged, head and feet destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Trendelenburg 1871, 174 (*BdI*): Dionysus; Fiorelli 1875, 58: Bacchus; Sogliano 1879, 118 (no. 156) young Dionysus; Schefold 1957, 13 probably Apollo; Moormann 1984, 91, 96–100; Moormann 1988, 142 (no. 146): Dionysus/Apollo after sculptural model, Dionysus type of Tivoli; Sampaolo 1990, 87, 93, 96, 100 (*PPM* 1): Apollo in trono; Romizzi 2006, 309 (no. 14): Apollo and a sceptre.
Decorative Scheme: A scenae frons with naked warriors on both sides. On the south wall there are several gods, depicting either a dispute between the gods of light (Sternenstreit), or Apollo judging the contest between Hesperus (or Bacchus?) and Venus.
Style and Dating: IV (Neronian), after 62 (Moormann).
Description: A youth in ¾ profile view sits reclining on pillows in a stepped exedra, with his head in profile. His right hand is raised to the back of his head, the left hand rests on his left thigh, holding a thyrsus with bunches of leaves at both ends. He wears long boots and a long cloak, which covers his thighs and extends around the back. In the background, a pillar and bushes.
Comments: The drawing is quite precise, in accordance with the preserved part of the wall painting. The young almost naked Bacchus follows the common model sitting in a relatively relaxed position, but instead of the customary throne the pillows are on top of stone slabs. The depiction in ¾ profile is also a variation of the more usual frontality.



B17 Drawing S. Bird from Ling 2005, 420, fig. 74.



B18 Drawing La Volpe in 1870 (MANN).

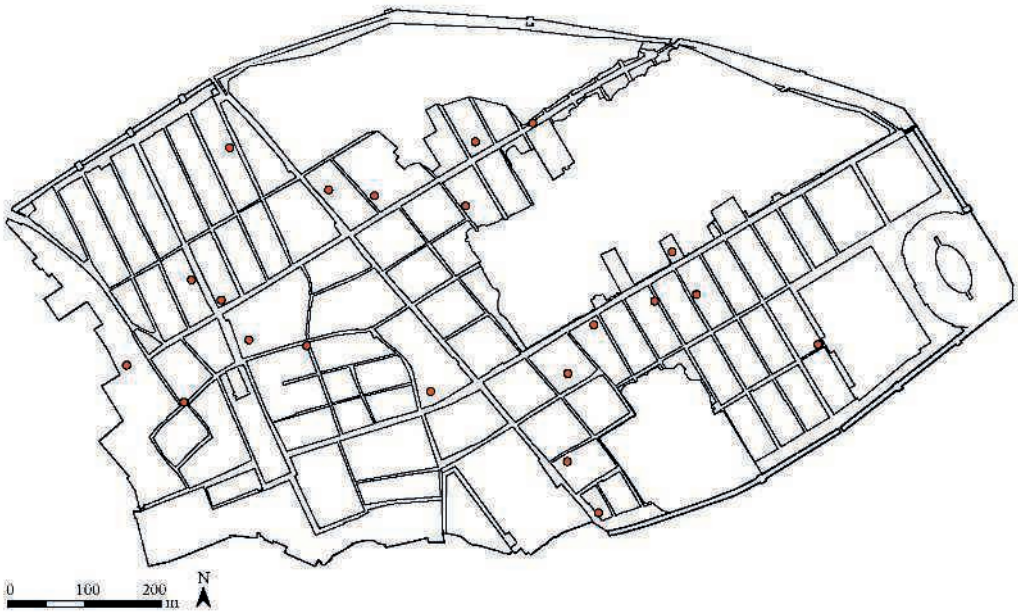
B19
Location: Ins. Occ., VI 17, possibly south side of the Via Consolare, (Warscher: Casa di Polibio), MANN 9520.
Excavation: 1760.
Condition: Quite good, discovered fragmented.
Measurements: Inner diameter 21 cm, H of the painting 35 cm, W with the adjoined Vulcan 65 cm.
Bibliography: *AdE* 3, 261 and 263, tav. 50; Helbig 1868, 96, no. 381, combined 200–201, no. 1006; Reinach 1922, 334 (no. 8); Schefold 1957, 161; Grasso 2009, 533 (*Pittura pompeiana*).
Decorative Scheme: A series of weekdays, Saturnus, Apollo (Sol), Diana (Luna), Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Cupid, seasons and months separately, with Vulcan for September.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A bust of a naked youth in ¾ profile. The dark hair is long and decorated with ivy wreath. The thyrsus with ribbons crosses the chest diagonally.
Comments: Young Bacchus is presented as a naked bust, probably to indicate October and harvest time in a calendar painting with seasons and months.

B19 Drawing from Reinach 334, 8 (RP 1922).

B20
Location: Caserma dei Gladiatori, V 5, 3, room *s* (triclinium) opening to the peristyle, west wall, central zone, southern side field medallion.
Excavation: 1842.
Condition: Almost damaged.
Measurements: Diameter 26 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1899, 355–356 (*NSA*): a female*;* Mau 1901, 303 (*MDAI(R)* 16) Bacchus; Parise Badoni 1991, (1069, 1084–1087) 1095 (*PPM* 3).
Decorative Scheme: Silenus is depicted in the northern end of the west wall.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A youth wearing a nebris across his chest looks rightwards. Darkish blond locks fall on his shoulders; he wears a wreath of ivy on his head with small green horns.
Comments: Effeminate and horned young half-naked Bacchus. There are only a few paintings of Bacchus with horns in Pompeii, with this being the only bust. Painted busts are quite common in Pompeii, but this type depicting an isolated Bacchus is rare, while busts of the companions of Bacchus, and some also with the infant Bacchus, are more common.

Remarks on the iconography of young Bacchus: the young slender Bacchus is always depicted as only sparingly robed. When standing, he usually carries his cloak on one arm, but it may sometimes cover his back. He may also wear a nebris or a simple band, or a band of ivy leaves across his torso. He is mostly barefoot, seldom wears boots, and occasionally covers his head with a wreath. When sitting, he most often prefers to cover his lower body with a cloak, in two instances wears boots, but never wears a wreath on his head. In the rare cases when he is presented as a bust, he is more reminiscent of the paraphernalia of the standing Bacchus, even with the extreme rarity of the horns.

His most common attribute is the thyrsus, appearing in fifteen cases out of our twenty entries. In two cases (B4, B17) we lack detailed information: in one he is sitting on a barrel and has understandably left aside his staff, but here his companion supports the identification; the other case is also otherwise exceptional (B17), and one bust medallion (B19) is identified by both the thyrsus and the ivy wreath, and by the portrayal of the other figures of the pictorial programme of the room. It is common for Bacchus to be seated on a throne with turned legs, and depicted frontally, not unlike the famous painting of Zeus/Alexander from the House of the Vettii. Some variation in the seating arrangement is seen, including the use of a barrel, the stone steps of an exedra, although cushioned, and the more ascetic clismus.



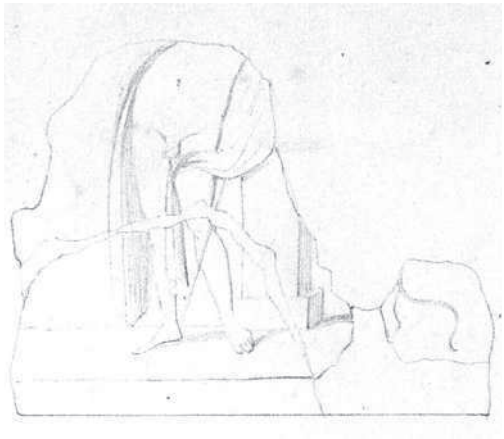
Location of C1–C24.

C – Bacchus with a Panther

Instead of being represented alone, Bacchus is frequently – in 24 Pompeian wall paintings – shown as accompanied by his favoured animal, a panther. He is depicted as standing by the beast in most cases (C1–17), sitting in five (C18–22), and twice even riding it (C23–24). The panther's pose also varies, e.g. from the beast facing away from Bacchus to facing him, to the differing position of the paws. The interaction depicted between the two also varies.

C1

Location: Taberna/Popina, I 1, 2, room *a* next to the street, east wall, between the two doors leading to the back.
Excavation: 1872.
Condition: Upper part damaged when discovered, now wholly destroyed.
Measurements: H 31 cm, W 43 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1874, 49 (*GdSc N.S* 3:22): either Bacchus or Adonis; Fiorelli 1875, 32–33 mentions thyrsus and a possible cantharus; Mau 1875, 26 (*BdI*); Sogliano 1879, 118–119, no. 161; Schefold 1957, 8; Strocka 1984, 44; Bragantini 1995, 857 and 859 (*PPM Disegnatori*): no identification.
Decorative Scheme: A lararium painting on the south wall, depicting libation next to a round altar.



C1 Drawing G. Discanno (MANN).

Style and Dating: IV.
Description: On the left, a youth is standing with his weight on his right foot. He wears a violet himation over his back and across his left thigh; he leans with his left arm on a dark blue pillar. On the right stands(?) a panther with dark spots on yellowish fur, his hind legs and long tail visible, facing the figure. There seems to be rocks in the landscape.
Comments: A half-naked Bacchus offers wine to a panther.[391]

C2

Location: Domus Volusii Fausti, I 2, 10, room *f* (triclinium) north of the corridor leading from the atrium to the peristyle, south wall.
Excavation: 1873.
Condition: Damaged when discovered, destroyed by 1875.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Mau 1874, 198 (*BdI*); Fiorelli 1875, 42; Sogliano 1879, 118, no. 160; Sogliano 1904, 308; Schefold 1957, 9; Strocka 1984, 44; Bragantini 1990, 18, 22–23 (*PPM* 1).
Decorative Scheme: Some female figures, e.g. an opus sectile with a naked Venus leaning on a column and fastening an ornament or a sandal to her left ankle.
Style and Dating: Strocka IV; Bragantini III because of the simple style of the cornice.
Description: Youth pouring wine to a panther.
Comments: Bacchus pouring wine from a cantharus to a panther.

C3

Location: Casa dei Ceii, I 6, 15, room *e* (triclinium, Della Corte: room 5) on the right, at the far edge of the atrium, a central picture in the west wall. In the same wall on the left side, a door

[391] Strocka 1984, 44–45, gives a list of some Pompeian cases of Bacchus offering wine to a panther. The topic was common in the Fourth style, but also known in some Third style paintings.

leads to the back of the house.
Excavation: 1913.
Condition: Partially damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure 48 cm, H of the painting 118 cm, W 63 cm.
Bibliography: Della Corte 1913, 256 (*NSA*); Spinazzola 1953, 270; Schefold 1957, 27; Strocka 1984, 44; *PPP* I, 42; Michel 1990, 40, 77; M. de Vos 1990, 442–447 (*PPM* 1): epiphany of Bacchus, with a reference to Apul. *met.* 11,285,23; Richardson 2000, 77–78: The Neoptolemus Painter.
Decorative Scheme: The white background is in contrast with the dark red and dominant black of the side panels and the socle. The tholos in the upper zone and the motifs in the side aediculae refer to the cult of Osiris. On the opposite wall there is a maenad in the central panel, above whom a large upper window.
Style and Dating: Late III.

C3 Pompeii (2009).

Description: A youth is standing with his weight on his right foot, against a white background. A red robe with a light blue lining covers his hips. In his outstretched right hand he holds a bunch of grapes, and in his left hand he carries a yellow thyrsus with a cone and a ribbon at the upper end, and another decoration at the lower end; his head is slightly turned to the right, and he is looking down at the panther; his curly hair reaches to his shoulders. On the left, the panther, standing with back facing the viewer, turns its head towards the youth. On the right of the picture, a votive pillar, decorated with red ribbons and a lekanis on top. In the background on the left, buildings, and yellow and green vegetation.
Comments: Young half-naked Bacchus giving wine to a panther, in a more extensive scenery than usual. The domestic-looking buildings are contrasted with the lekanis, in general considered to be a bridal vessel, or at least connected to females, and perhaps further to his epiphany to Ariadne; the otherwise blackish interior might indeed point to nocturnal rites, while the window on the opposite wall gives direct morning light to Bacchus. The thyrsus with decoration onbboth ends is quite rare in Pompeii. There were also elements of the Bacchic cult in a small room *g* which was a sacrarium.[392]

C4
Location: Casa del Sacerdos Amandus, I 7, 7, room *b* (triclinium) on the northwest side of the atrium, north wall, central zone, left side field, the floating figure on the right.
Excavation: 1924.
Condition: Damaged.

[392] Bassani 2008, 216–217.

Measurements: H of the figure ca. 35 cm.
Bibliography: Maiuri 1927, 22 (*NSA*); Maiuri 1938, 5–6 identifies only cupids, psychae, and bacchants; Schefold 1957, 30–31; Sampaolo 1990, 587, 590–591 (*PPM* 1).
Decorative Scheme: On the north wall there is a central panel with Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides; on other panels floating figures, e.g. cupids and a maenad. On the central panels of the other walls Perseus and Andromeda, Polyphemus and Galatea, and Daedalus and Icarus.
Style and Dating: Late III (AD 50).
Description: A simple thin candelabrum divides a red side panel in two. On the right, a youth is standing with his weight on his right foot and his outstretched arm above a panther; his lower body is covered with a greenish-grey cloak, the sleeve of which he carries on his left arm. The panther is painted in movement forward and in light tones, with only the fore part of the body visible; its back is behind the youth.
Comments: This picture of the young half-naked Bacchus with his panther is larger than the counterparts on the other walls. He carries no object in his hand, and his gesture seems to encourage the lively panther to move on.

C4 Photo S.A. Jashemski (1968).

C5
Location: North side of the Via Nolana, IV, façade of a workshop, exact location not known, possibly IV 1 (Helg – Malgieri), the vine may have continued over the lintel.
Excavation: 1841.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: F. M. Avellino 1843, 17 (*BAN*); Helbig 1868, 9, no. 24; Fröhlich 1991, 316, no. F26; Bragantini 1995, 276–277 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Helg – Malgieri 2017, 273: unusual emphasis placed on the vines.
Decorative Scheme: The other side of the façade depicts Mercury.
Style and Dating: Possibly IV.

C5 Drawing G. Abbate in 1841 (MANN).

Description: A naked youth is standing with his weight on his right foot, and a leafy wreath of vines on his head; in his left arm he carries a chlamys and a thyrsus with decorations on top; he hands a bunch of grapes to the panther sitting on his right with his back towards the youth. The beast's left paw is raised, and head turned towards the bunch of grapes. The terrain is marked as a narrow flat surface. A disproportionally large vine grows like a tree across the picture, passing through the composition on the right and forming an arch above the figures.
Comments: Bacchus is offering a bunch of grapes to the panther. The composition and its details, such as the large wreath, the thirsty/covetous panther with the naked Bacchus, and the considerable size of the vine, all emphasize the significance of the harvest.

C6
Location: Taberna, V 1, 20, in the middle of the north wall.
Excavation: Done partially in 1785 and possibly 1842, but the neighbouring houses only in 1875, and this painting was also around that time.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figure 55 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1877, 17 (*BdI*); Sogliano 1879, 118, no. 159; Schefold 1957, 66: a statue with no further definitions, but no mention in Mau, to whom he refers.
Decorative Scheme: In the side field animals, possibly goats.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A standing youth wearing boots and a vine wreath on his head; a blue cloak covers his left shoulder and right arm. In his raised right arm he holds a thyrsus, pouring wine from a cantharus with his left hand into the mouth of a panther.
Comments: Young, practically naked Bacchus with a thyrsus and a panther, representing the type wearing long boots.

C7
Location: Casa della Regina Margherita, V 2, 1, room *r* (triclinium) opening to the far right of the long tablinum, west wall, upper zone, remaining part with a central aedicula.
Excavation: 1883.
Condition: Partly damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure 30 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1883, 287 (*NSA*); Mau 1885, 166 (*BdI*); Schefold 1957, 70; *PPP* II, 57; Sampaolo 1991, 774, 796 (*PPM* 3).
Decorative Scheme: The damaged central panel of the west wall depicts a raging Lycurgus, with a panther. The central panel of the south wall depicts a sleeping Ariadne, possibly with Bacchus, and Narcissus on the east wall.

C7 Pompeii (GFN) detail, also PPM 3, 796.

Style and Dating: IV (possibly Vespasian imitation of Neronian style).
Description: A standing youth on a white background in an elaborate architectural setting. In his right hand he possibly holds a cantharus, from which he pours wine onto a now damaged

panther at his feet. On his left arm, and possibly around his loins, he wears a reddish cloak, and carries a thyrsus with a bunch and a ribbon at the top in the same arm.
Comments: Young Bacchus of the half-naked type, accompanied by panther.

C8
Location: Fullonica di Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus, VI 8,20, room 10, big atrium-like space in the east side of the peristyle, east wall, left of the entrance.
Excavation: 1824–1829, possibly 1826.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 97–98, no. 390 addenda; Schefold 1957, 106.
Decorative Scheme: In the same space another Bacchus of the young type (B4), Apollo, and life in a fullonica.
Style and Dating: IV, in accordance with the rest of the decoration in the room.
Description: Standing youth with a panther, with no detailed information.
Comments: Young Bacchus with a panther.

C9
Location: Casa del Principe di Napoli, VI 15, 7-8, room *m* (exedra) with a wide opening to space *l* between the main reception room and the peristyle, south wall, central panel.
Excavation: 1896.
Condition: Otherwise good, but the panther is damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure 90 cm.
Bibliography: Mau – Ippel, 65; Warscher 1948 *Marmi di Pompei* 6, no. 50: depicts a statue; Lehmann 1953, 69–70, n. 170 emphasizes the mystic nature of the room and states that the cista opened by a cupid is a box filled with snakes; Schefold 1957, 152 (room g); *PPP* II, 336; Strocka 1984, 29–30, 44–45; Moormann 1988, 185–186, no. 219: live Dionysus modelled after statues, such as the Tivoli type; Strocka 1994, 648, 668–669 (*PPM* 5); Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 50, pl. 5: figures of deities…small room, with elaborate but unsophisticated decoration.
Decorative Scheme: The counterpart on the west wall is a naked Venus with her hands in her hair and elbows out. A niche in the east wall, and below it a smaller painting, depicting two winged cupids; one holding a mirror, the other picking something up from a cista.

C9 Pompeii (2009).

In the architectural composition of the central zone, various animals and objects, such as deer, birds, and rhyta.
Style and Dating: Early IV, ca. AD 50–60.
Description: A youth stands with his weight on his right foot inside an architectonic frame on a white background. His head is presented in ¾ profile, he looks downwards, and wears a wreath on his long curly hair; a small greyish cloak covers his left shoulder and the bend of the elbow, in his right hand hanging downwards he holds a cantharus pouring wine for a sitting panther. In his raised left hand he holds a thyrsus, with long ribbons and a bunch of leaves on the top.
Comments: A young naked Bacchus with a panther, depicted in exceptionally large size, in the same manner as the Venus on her respective wall. The artist was very talented, and may be the same one (or used the same pattern) as in the House of Iulius Polybius, showing elaborate curls. This luxuriously painted room is small; the opposite wall to the painting is wholly open to a porticus leading in right angle to the garden. The main representative room was on the right side of the oecus with this painting, and was thus visible to all those frequenting the porticus. The painting could also be observed through a small window from the garden.

C10
Location: Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, VI 17,42, garden next to the room 31, fragments of a predella painting, P 87280.
Excavation: 1983.
Condition: Damaged, restored from parts.
Measurements: H of the painting 49 cm, W 68 cm, H of the statue ca. 8 cm.
Bibliography: Sampaolo 1996, 144 (*PPM* 6); De Carolis 2007, 314.
Decorative Scheme: The painting is probably part of a garden with a trellis on a black background.
Style and Dating: III, phase II B.
Description: *Hortus conclusus* with green terrain, plants, and a white statue and a beast, in the foreground of a round yellow pavilion (tholos). The statue on the pedestal is of a standing youth with his weight on his right foot. Around his waist is a long cloak, on his head a wreath, in his down-stretched right hand he holds an object, probably a cantharus, and in his left arm he holds an upright thyrsus with a bunch upwards. On his right side by his feet stands a panther with his back to the viewer, with his head lifted towards the object. Garlands hang from the conical roof of the tholos.

C10 Pompeii, fragment inv. 87280.

Comments: A young almost naked Bacchus as a marble statue. Among remaining Pompeian marble statuary the youth is mainly presented naked. The position of the panther's head indicates that the object in his master's hand is a vessel for wine.

C11

Location: Taberna lusoria and lupanar(?), VII 6, 34–35, the right pillar in the east end of the façade.
Excavation: 1859.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H 64 cm (Helbig).
Bibliography: Minervini 1859, 68–69 (*BAN* n.s. 159); Helbig 1868, 9, no. 23; *CIL* IV 1626; Fiorelli 1875, 438; Boyce 1937, 111, no. 17; Schefold 1957, 191; *PPP* III, 156; Fröhlich 1991, 327, no. F51.
Decorative Scheme: In the façade Mercury (Helbig no. 10), and in the pillar in the middle a donkey, a lion and Victory (Helbig no. 1548, MANN 27683.)
Style and Dating: Possibly IV.
Description: A standing figure, probably on a white background between two vines. He holds a thyrsus in one hand, in the other a cantharus, from which he pours wine for a panther. There is an inscription LIB LIBER below the figure's right foot.
Comments: The figure's identification as Bacchus is confirmed by the rare inscription. The depiction is most likely that of a half-naked youth, known from similar compositions with the pair of Mercury and Bacchus in Pompeii.

C11 The place of the painting with inscriptions was on the right. Pompeii (2011).

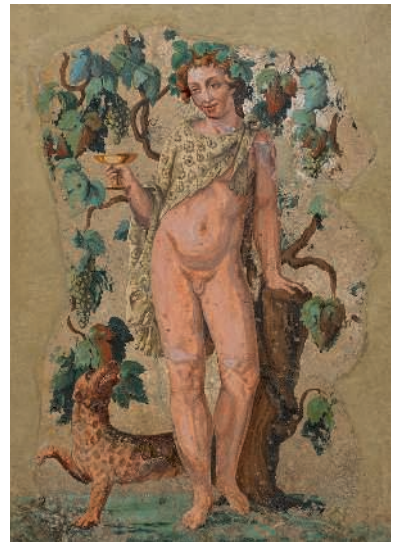
C12

Location: Location VII 9 or VII 12, possibly façade of VII 9, 30, perhaps a taberna, Boyce (1937) gives this exact location accepted by e.g. Van der Poel (1983, *CTP* II, 328).
Excavation: 1822.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1864, 55–56 (*PAH* II); Bechi 1827, tav. 50 (*MB* 3); Helbig 1868, 9, no. 25; Roux – Barré no. II 118; Reinach 1922, 107, 8; Boyce 1937, 111, no. 19; Fröhlich 1991, 328–329, no. F55.
Style and Dating: IV.
Decorative Scheme: Mercury either inside the workshop or on the next pilaster by the door.
Description: A youth leaning on a pillar. He stands with his weight on his left foot wearing sandals, wearing a long blue cloak which covers his right shoulder and reaches to the calves,

C12 Original drawing G. Maldarelli, MB 3, Tav. 50.

and a wreath on his head. He squeezes juice from grapes into a cantharus onto a lower level of the pillar, intensively checking the process. In the bend of his left elbow he carries a canonical thyrsus. A panther on the left stands on his hind legs, reaching towards the juice. The low terrain is indicated by an undulating diagonal line, with a shallow bush on the right.
Comments: A young half-naked Bacchus, engaged in an activity rarely represented in Pompeian wall paintings.

C13
Location: British Museum, BM 1901, 0131.1 possibly from Pompeii.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the fragment 46 cm, W 29.4 cm, H of the figure 33 cm.
Bibliography: Lenormant 1866, 231–232 (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 3/1866) locates possibly to Pompeii based on style and parallels; de Chanot 1876, 18–19 (*Gazette Archéologique* 1876): bought from Raffaële Barone in Naples; Reinach 1922, 106, no. 6: possibly from Pompeii; BM: possibly from Pompeii, donated by the estate of the British collector Henry Vaughan (1809–1899) in 1901.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: Possibly IV.
Description: A youth standing with his weight on his right foot. His head is depicted in ¾ profile, and he looks a little downwards and wears an ivy wreath on his curly brown hair; he wears a pardalis across his chest, the paws tied on his left shoulder, hanging down his back and reaching the bend of the right knee; he holds a yellow cup by its stem in his right hand and leans with his left on a very thick vine trunk. A panther stands behind the youth, raising its right foreleg and looking backwards at him. The figures stand on greenish terrain, a leafy large vine with bunches of grapes framing them.
Comments: A young half naked Bacchus with a pardalis and a rare golden stemmed cup. The fragment may be a forgery, as there seems to be at least some modern overpainting. The pose of the figure and the large vine have parallels in Pompeii, e.g. C5.



C13 Photo from the British Museum (BM 1901, 0131.1).

C14
Location: Small house, I 12, 16, room 2 (atrium), lararium with vaulted niche high in the south wall.
Excavation: 1960–1962.
Condition: Damaged.

C14 Pompeii (GFN) detail, also PPM 2, 841.

Measurements: H 55 cm, W 39 cm, depth of the niche 22 cm.
Bibliography: Menotti – A. de Vos 1990, 838, 840–841 (*PPM* 2); Fröhlich 1991, 260–261, no. L28; Huet – Wyler 2015, 211.
Decorative Scheme: Red panels without figures.
Description: A youth stands on a simple dark terrain line against a white background. His weight is on his right foot and he wears boots and a long red cloak reaching the calves; in his right hand he probably holds a vessel, in his raised left hand a thyrsus with leaves. A panther sits on his left side, facing him. On the extreme left grows a vine, which forms an arch above the composition. On the vault there are red and orange flowers. Below is a lower zone with a huge slithering snake.
Style and Dating: III.
Comments: A young half-naked Bacchus offering wine to a panther. A lone Bacchus in a lararium is a rare scene. Separate figurines were certainly added in front of the serpent.

C15
Location: House of Quietus (?), II 9, 1, possibly taberna, in the south wall of a pillar between the corridor 6 and room 8 (summer triclinium), towards the triclinium in the garden.
Excavation: 1954.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 90 cm, W of the pillar 47.5 cm.
Bibliography: Sodo 1988, 199 (*RSP* 2): Dionisio con pantera; Fröhlich 1991, 266, no. L41; Eschebach 1993, 97.
Decorative Scheme: On the other sides of the pillar are a Priapus and the attributes of Mercury and Apollo.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: A frontally depicted youth is standing on a white background. He stands with his weight on his right foot, wearing a long yellow cloak reaching to the bend of his knees; his jaw line is strong jaw he and wears a wreath on his head; in his raised right hand he holds a bunch of grapes, in the lowered left hand a thyrsus. On his left side sits a panther. Above the composition is a garland.
Comments: A young half-naked Bacchus wearing a cloak is teasing a panther with a bunch of grapes. The large painting is very exceptional on a garden pillar. The strong jaw line is also seen in some Republican coins.[393]

C15 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

C16
Location: Casa di un Flamine, V 4, 3, room b (atrium), in the upper left field of the lararium in the west wall.
Excavation: 1899.
Condition: Destroyed 1943.
Measurements: H of the lararium without the socle 296 cm and W 296 cm, original H of the

[393] More generally of Liber in coinage, Chapter 2; Bruhl 1953, pl. 1, especially nos. 2, 4 and 9.

figure ca. 80 cm, preserved part when discovered 63 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1899, 340–341 (*NSA*); Sogliano 1904, 324; Boyce 1937, 39–40, no. 118; Schefold 1957, 83; Gasparri 1986, 550 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 121; Fröhlich 1991, 271–272, no. L52; Bragantini 1991, 1048–1049 (*PPM* 3); Coralini 2001, 182, no.P.054; García y García 2006, 62–63; Van Andringa 2009, 260-261; Huet – Wyler 2015, 211, 218.
Decorative Scheme: A lararium in three zones. In the socle, plants; in the central zone, Mercury, Victory, a sacrificial pig, Hercules, and Minerva in an offering scene outdoors. In the upper zone, an aedicula. On the right side of the aedicula, Jupiter on a throne; on its façade Fortuna on the right, on the left originally Venus and a cupid.

C16 Pompeii, detail (NSA 1899, 340).

Style and Dating: IV.
Description: On the left side of the aedicula is a youth standing with his weight on his right foot. He wears a long cloak and pours wine from a cantharus, turned it upside down in his right hand; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus. A sitting panther raises its right front leg and drinks the wine. The figure is surrounded by growing vines, which are shaped into an arch.
Comments: An almost naked young Bacchus offering wine to a panther, depicted as a counterpart to Jupiter as the main figures by the aedicula.

C17
Location: Casa del Centenario, IX 8, 3.6, small courtyard (atriolum) 49 west of the great peristyle, east wall of the lararium in the southwest corner, separated with low walls. MANN 112286.
Excavation: 1879.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 140 cm, W 101 cm, H of the figure 40 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1879, 94, no. 32; Fivel 1880, 9–15 ('Bacchus, peinture de Pompéi' *Gazette Archéologique* 6); Fiorelli 1880, 232-233 and tav. 7 (*NSA*); Mau 1881, 235 (*BdI*); Niccolini 3 (1890) 'Casa detta del centenario', 3 and tav. 2; Elia 1932, 57 and 59 (no. 99); Boyce 1937, 89–90, no. 448: exceptionally good for a lararium painting; Bruhl 1953, 151 and pl. 14; Schefold 1957, 273; Herter 1957, 101–114; Ragghianti 1963, 85 and tav. 80. Jashemski 1979, 219–221; Zagdoun 1986, 143 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Botrys no. 1; Gasparri 1986, 559–560 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, no. 268: Bacco fitomorfo; Fröhlich 1991, 297, no. L107; Scagliarini Corlaità 1998, 61; Sampaolo 1999, 904–905 and 1094–1096 (*PPM* 9); Bassani 2008, 107, 198–199; Rocco 2009, 426 (*Pittura pompeiana*); Van Andringa 2009, 246–247; De Simone 2011, 293–294; Huet – Wyler 2015, 210, 220.
Decorative Scheme: On the connecting wall, a lararium in the shape of an aedicula with lares on both sides.

C17 Old photo from Warsher, Marmi di Pompei 4 (1948), 320, no. 187 (SvIR); MANN 112286 (Photo A. Tammisto).

Style and Dating: Late III or more probably IV. The painter has been identified as "the Visionary Master" because of his very personal landscapes.[394]
Description: A youth stands with his weight on his left foot on the lower slope of a volcano. He wears a long tunic with long sleeves, covered from ankle to neck with big grapes; he has dark curly hair and wears a wreath, and looks down towards his right hand, while pouring wine from a cantharus made of glass and turned upside down; his raised left hand holds an upright very long thyrsus with a ribbon and a bunch of leaves. On his right, a panther is partly hidden by his master, and steps forward raising its foreleg, with its mouth wide open for the wine. On the slopes of the conical volcano there are vineyards. A garland with ribbons and a large bird (passerine[395]) are depicted above the composition. In the foreground, a huge snake is slithering in front of an altar.
Comments: A fully covered Bacchus is the personification of the vine. The volcano has generally been identified as Vesuvius as it was before the eruption in 79 AD, making this picture a local landscape; the owner of the house may have had vineyards on the slopes of the mountain.[396] Or else, it depicts Mount Nysa, where Bacchus was raised. These wall paintings, e.g. of Villa della

394 Ragghianti 1963, 82.

395 Passeriformes sp. most likely Song Thrush (Turdus philomelos).

396 Mau 1881, 235; There is also an identification as Dionysos Bothrus by P. Perdrizet, Bruhl 1953, 151.

Farnesina in Rome, however, portray an infant Bacchus without the mountain.[397] The youth's robe is most unusual, and may have been inspired by that of the cult statue of the Ephesian Artemis. – In the Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico is another courtyard sacrarium but the image type is unknown.[398]

C18

Location: House near the Nolan gate, north side of III 1, on the south side of the street, in the atrium.
Excavation: 1843, only the entrance area, an atrium with a small marble impluvium.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 69 cm (Helbig).
Bibliography: Avellino 1843, 10–11 (*BAN*); Helbig 1868, 98, no. 394; Schefold 1957, 56; Sampaolo 1995, 295 (*PPM Disegnatori*).
Decorative Scheme: Danae and a fisherman, Pegasus, horae of spring and winter.
Style and Dating: Probably IV.
Description: A barren landscape scene with a youth sitting on the right on a quadrangular stone. He is depicted in ¾ profile and wearing a cloak that covers his legs and left arm; a band of leaves extends from his right shoulder over his chest and down to his waist; he wears a wreath of ivy in his long hair. In his left hand he holds an upright thyrsus; he looks downwards towards his right hand resting on his right thigh, and holds a cantharus from which a sitting panther is drinking. On the left side is a high rocky cliff, in the background some bushes.

C18 Drawing G. Abbate in 1847 (MANN).

Comments: A young half-robed Bacchus in relaxed pose, letting the panther drink wine directly from the cantharus. The protagonists' interaction is positive. Diagonal, vertical, and horizontal lines are emphasized, at least in the drawing. The diagonal band is rare in Pompeii but shown combined with the cloak already in the Paestan vases.[399]

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[397] E.g. Villa della Farnesina in Rome, cubiculum B, now in Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme.

[398] There is a vaulted chamber with a lararium in which were painted attributes of Hercules on the back wall. Above them as in a pediment was painted Bacchus accompanied by two genii with a wreath. The details of Bacchus are unknown except he was offered a pig. Schulz 1838, 195 (*AdI*): *…un Bacco, a cui offre un sacrificolo a porchetto*; Helbig 1868, 25, no. 77: Bacchus; Breton 1870, 286–287: Hercules; Fiorelli 1875, 415: Hercules; Boyce 1937, 97, no. 479: apparently dedicated to Hercules and Bacchus; Bruhl 1953, 150; Kockel – Weber 1983, 82, 84; Fröhlich 1991, 300, no. L112; Coralini 2001; 234, no. P143; Bassani 2008, 99, 232–233.

[399] Trendall 1989, 199, fig. 350.

C19 Detail from PPM 3, 372; Photo Pompeii (2017).

C19
Location: Casa detta di Trebius Valens, III 2, 1, room *n* (tablinum), west wall, framed central picture.
Excavation: 1915.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: Small, ca. 30 cm x 30 cm.
Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953, 287–288, fig. 320; Schefold 1957, 57; *PPP* I, 246; Bragantini 1991, 372 (*PPM* 3); Romizzi 2006, 341, no. 161.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture of the north wall depicts a drunken Silenus; otherwise, psyche-motifs, birds, fruit, masks, vines, and deer.
Style and Dating: III, phase II B.
Description: A sitting youth, depicted frontally, in a landscape scene. He wears a yellow tunic with a green cloak over his left shoulder and an ivy wreath on his curly hair; his right forearm and hand are foreshortened. He looks away from a panther, for whom he offers wine from the cup in his right hand. The beast is standing on a sloping ground. In the background grows a large tree, from which a mask with horns hangs down.
Comments: Compared to Cat. 18 above, Bacchus is rather nonchalant. The picture is unusually small.

C20
Location: Casa del Naviglio, VI 10, 11, atrium (2), south wall, MANN 9456.
Excavation: 1825–1826.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 62 cm.
Bibliography: Zahn I 1828, Tav. 3; Bechi 1830, *MB 6,* tav. 53; Helbig 1868, 98, no. 392; Fiorelli 1875, 144; Ruesch 1908, 348, no. 1466: Reinach 1922, 107, no. 5; Elia 1932, 94, no. 237; Bey-

en 1951, 243; Bruhl 1953, pl. 12, Richardson 1955; pls. 17:1, 22:1; Schefold 1957, 124; Sampaolo 1993, 1073, 1082–1084 (*PPM* 4); Richardson 2000, 110: The Dioscuri Painter; Romizzi 2006, 388.
Decorative Scheme: Animals both in the socle and the predella; in the central zone a candelabra and garlands with masks. Other central panels depict an enthroned Jupiter, Juno, and Ceres. Venus, Victory, and Apollo as floating figures.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A half-naked youth is sitting on a golden throne with carved feet against a red background. His sandaled feet rest on a footstool, his left elbow rests on the arm of the chair, and his raised right hand holds an upright thyrsus; his right elbow is resting on the other arm, and he holds a cantharus in his hand. He wears a large bluish cloak, which covers his thighs and most of the throne, and a nebris tied on his right shoulder falls over his chest; he has a leafy wreath of ivy on his head. A sulky-looking panther is sitting to the left of the throne, a tympanum is leaning on the right. Behind the throne there is a column with blue ribbons.

C20 Original drawing R. d'Auria, MB 6, 53.

Comments: Bacchus portrayed with a panther, with no interactivity between the figures; both are looking towards the viewer. He is one of the several enthroned divinities in the atrium.

C21
Location: Casa di Bacco, VII 4, 10, atrium, back, east wall.
Excavation: 1826.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figure near natural size.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1864, 169 (*PAH* II); Fiorelli 1875, 213; Helbig 1868, 98, no. 391; Schefold 1957, 179; Sampaolo 1996, 978 (*PPM* 6).
Decorative Scheme: Plants and birds with Doric columns, somewhere in the house another painting with two Bacchi D4.
Style and Dating: Probably IV.
Description: A sitting youth with a panther at his feet.
Comments: A young Bacchus in the company of a panther.

C22
Location: Pompeii, but the precise location not known.
Excavation: Before 1779.

Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: *AdE* 7/5 (1779) 111–113; Roux – Barré II, 119, pl. 31; Helbig 1868, 98, no. 393; Reinach 1922, 107, no. 9.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: Not known.
Description: A scene in a rocky landscape. An effeminate youth with very long hair is sitting on a stone; he wears sandals, resting his feet on a slab of stone, and a cloak covers his legs; he looks downwards; in his raised left hand he holds a thyrsus, and in his right a vessel offering a drink to a panther, towards whom he is looking. The panther stands on his hind legs on the slab, with his forelegs resting on the youth's thighs. In the foreground, a low rock with shallow bushes, in the background a high cliff.
Comments: A variation of C18.

C22 Original drawing V. Campana, AdE 7/5, 113.

C23
Location: Casa dei Cubicoli Floreali/Casa del Frutteto, I 9,5, room 12 (cubiculum), in the centre of black barrel vault.
Excavation: 1913 and 1951.
Condition: Damaged, fragments restored in the vault.
Measurements: Small, not known.
Bibliography: Sichtermann 1974, 46, 50; Schwinzer 1979, 119; M. De Vos 1990, 2 and 118 (*PPM* 2).
Decorative Scheme: A garden painting on a black background. Water basins and statues in the middle. In the upper zone, trees, and a slithering snake on a tree.
Style and Dating: III (or possibly Vespasian imitation). According to Schwinzer this is the earliest surviving painting of this motif in Pompeii.

C23 Pompei (GFN), also PPM 2, 118.

Description: A youth riding a panther from left to right. His upper body is depicted frontally; his right hand is outstretched, the left hangs down holding a thyrsus. He has a wreath on his head, and his red cloak covers his legs and his left forearm. Both of the panther's forelegs are raised; his neck is long, and the head is turned right towards the viewer.
Comments: The riding figure is attired similarly to most young half-naked depictions of Bac-

chus. In general, Bacchus riding a panther is a young man,[400] but in my material the young man and the child as the rider are evenly proportioned. In this house all the themes are connected to Bacchus and Egyptian gods.

C24

Location: Stabian baths, VII 1, 8, a stucco panel as a keystone of the archway between palaestra C and room F (nymphaeum/basin).
Excavation: 1854.
Condition: Damaged, feet of the panther destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 30 cm, depth of the vault ca. 69 cm.
Bibliography: Ronczewski 1903, 28–29; Schefold 1957, 162; Mielsch 1979, 75.
Decorative Scheme: On the stuccoed wall of the palaestra the themes vary from a drunken Hercules, to Hylas and nymphs, Daedalus and Icarus, satyrs, and finally above the arch a sitting Jupiter.
Style and Dating: IV.

C24 Pompeii (2014).

Description: A youth riding a panther backwards, with the upper part of his body turned towards the viewer. He holds the panther's neck with his right hand, and a thyrsus with his left hand. The panther is moving forwards, with its left foreleg raised.
Comments: In the two examples the direction of the motion varies, and the postures of the rider as well as the panther are also different.

In Group C the presence of a panther accompanying Bacchus makes the identification of the youthful figure as Bacchus certain. The youth stands with his weight on his right foot in all the cases except one (C17). He is either naked or lightly robed, the only anomaly again being the same lararium painting (C17). He stands barefoot except in two cases (C6, C14) when he wears boots, the latter case perhaps explained by the setting among vines. The interaction between Bacchus and his panther features all the variants of the standing Bacchus: dangling a bunch of grapes high in his hand (C15), squeezing the grapes for the impatient beast (C12), giving the grapes as such without any other preparation (C3, C5), pouring wine from a cantharus (C2, C6, C9, C11, C16 and C17), or holding a cantharus in his hand without pouring (C14). As for the panther, he sometimes seems to beg for wine (C13), or else Bacchus is shown encouraging the beast to move with his empty hand (C4); otherwise, the panther's pose varies from standing or sitting with his back to his master, but facing him (C3, C5, C10, C17), to be-

[400] E.g. in a Paestan bell-crater, Trendall 1989, 199, fig. 339, and in the pebble-mosaic from Pella, M. Robertson, A *Shorter History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1991, 175, fig. 240, both from the late fourth century BC.

ing partly behind him (C13), or facing Bacchus directly (C12, C14, C16). The repertory of the sitting Bacchus variant here is meagre, but the divinity seems to be more often robed, once even wearing both a tunic and a cloak (C19), and twice sandals (C20, C22). He either actively offers a drink to the beast (C18, C19, C22), or seemingly denies the panther wine, about which the beast is clearly dismayed.

The vessel nearby or held in the hands of Bacchus is, in most of the established cases, a cantharus (C1, C2, C6, C9, C16, C17). A column decorated with ribbons (C20) and a lekanis on top of a pillar (C13) add an aspect of worship to these scenes.

Bacchus usually carries or leans on his precious thyrsus, but sometimes feels the need to lean on a more substantial support, such as a pillar (C1, C12) or a thick vine trunk (C13). The two figures are presented amidst well-grown vines (C5, C11, C14, C16), or under a garland (C15), or in the shadow of a large tree (C19). In more isolated cases the setting might be outdoors, and as statues by a pavilion (C10), in an architectural setting (C7, C9), by the vineyards near the volcano (C17), or in a barren landscape (C18, C22).

When standing with the panther, he wears a wreath in only half of the non-damaged and preserved cases, while when sitting he wears a wreath in all of the preserved cases; when riding, he wears it in one of the two discernible cases. In Pompeii, the iconographic type of young Bacchus riding a panther is rare, being more common elsewhere in the ancient world, especially in later mosaics.[401]

YOUNG BACCHUS WITH DIVERSE COMPANIONS

D – Bacchus with a Female and Other Companions

In addition to appearing with a panther, Bacchus also appears in Pompeian wall paintings with human figures – either together with just a single female of uncertain identity (D1–D11), or beside a female with other companions (D12–D15).

D1
Location: Via Nolana, IV, near the Nolan gate,[402] façade of a shop or a workshop, central jamb.
Excavation: Before 1841.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 65 cm.

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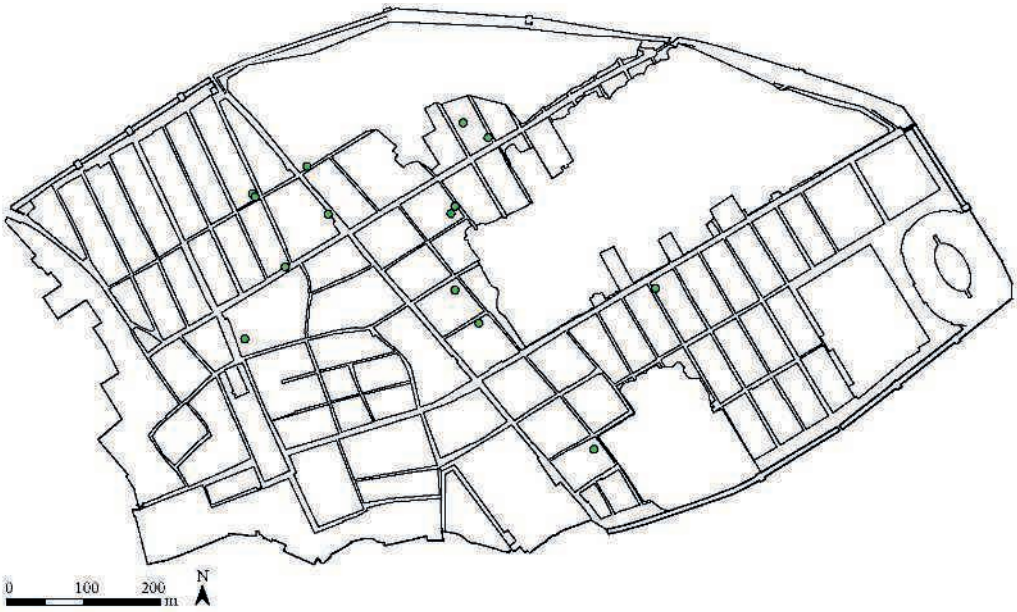
[401] Schwinzer 1979, 116–125, also mentions two isolated wall paintings of unknown origin, one depicting a youth riding a panther and the other depicting a satyr riding a goat.

[402] Helg – Malgieri 2017, 273: V 4, 6-7. I cannot see the reasoning for this exact location. There are two Bacchic paintings inside the building, D10 and F8.

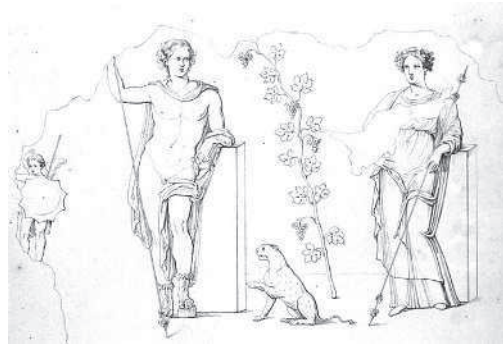


Location of D1–D16.

Bibliography: Avellino 1842, 18 (*BAN*): god of wine and Libera; Helbig 1868, 9–10, no. 26: Bacchus and possibly Libera; Schefold 1957, 61; Fröhlich 1991, 316, no. F27: Bacchus and Libera, because she looks more like a matron than a maenad; Bragantini 1995, 279 (*PPM Disegnatori*) Liber and Libera; Helg – Malgieri 2017, 273–274: Bacchus and a maenad.
Decorative Scheme: Lower on the same pillar are harvesting satyrs. On another pillar to the east is Mercury, to the west Hercules.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two large figures and two small ones. On the left side a small cupid, partly destroyed, with a shield and a lance. Next to him a standing youth with his weight on his left foot, leaning with his left arm on a pillar; the head is slightly turned to the left, the curly short hair is adorned with a wreath; he wears high boots and a long cloak covering his collarbones, back, and left thigh; the right arm is raised and he holds a thyrsus,

D1 Drawing W. Zahn (Berlin: Zahn H 26) concentrates on Bacchus.

in his left hand he holds a cantharus. Next to him is a sitting panther raising its left foreleg. On the right stands a heavily draped female figure with a wreath in her tied hair, leaning on a pillar with her left arm; she holds a thyrsus with double bunches of leaves at both ends. A high vine grows between the two large figures.
Comments: A typical young half-naked Bacchus with a panther. The female figure's identification as Libera is uncertain but possible, or else she is a maenad. The cupid might have been connected to a (destroyed) Venus (Fröhlich), which would have made her a third large figure in the composition; it was not preserved when the painting was discovered.



D1 Drawing G. Abbate (MANN) shows possible Libera as well.

D2
Location: South façade of two workshops VI 13, 6-7, probably between the doors, MANN 9282.
Excavation: 1833.
Condition: Damaged when the electoral inscriptions were painted on white background, otherwise good.
Measurements: H of the painting 121 cm, W 151 cm, H of the figures 72 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 10, no. 28: no identification of gods; Boyce 1937, 112, no. 32: gives a wrong place and no identification; Schefold 1957, 342: Mars and Venus, but wrongly refers to Helbig 1868, 83, no. 322, a painting from different location; Fröhlich 1991, 322–323, no. F41: Liber and Libera by construction site of a temple, with a theory of the painting order; Sampaolo 1995, 902 no. 29 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Sampaolo 1998, 305 (*Romana pictura* no. 108); Varone – Stefani 2009, 329; Wyler 2013, 34: does not acknowledge Pompeian Libera but calls the construction with a pediment the temple at Sant'Abbondio, and Liber accompanied by Venus.

D2 MANN (2009).

Decorative Scheme: Inscriptions *CIL* IV, 347 and 348 were painted for the elections of AD 73 and 78.
Style and Dating: IV, ca. 70–79.
Description: There are various scenes in different scales, probably signifying overpainting. The main scene consists of two tall figures. On the left, a robed man stands with his weight on his left foot; he is wearing high boots and a green tunic and red cloak; the head is in profile, and on his curly hair there rests a substantial wreath; in his right hand there are small greenish branches extending towards his right shoulder; in his left hand he holds a rod, the upper part of which is

not visible. The female figure stands more frontally; she is fully clothed, wears a double necklace, and has a wreath in her long curly hair. In the crook of her left arm she has a long stick with tiny decorations at both ends. On the left side of the painting is a scene from a fullonica, with two drying racks (*vimineae caveae*) with bird on the tops. On the right side is a construction site with small figures building temple.
Comments: The male figure's apparel is not very characteristic of Bacchus, but has established parallels,[403] high boots are more common in Pompeii. The construction on the right side is too vague to be identified as a temple of Bacchus. The birds on the drying racks may be owls, as in the famous graffito (*CIL* IV 9131).

D3
Location: Casa di Vesonius Primus/Casa d'Orfeo, VI 14, 20, room *e* (cubiculum) next to the atrium, north wall, central picture with a painted aedicula.
Excavation: 1874.
Condition: Almost destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 52 cm, W 42.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1874, 100 (*GdSc N.S.*); Mau 1876, 20 (*BdI*); Sogliano 1879, 120, no. 166: Bacchus and a female; Schefold 1957, 132: room *g*, the second room on the north side of the atrium; Narciso 1994, 268–269 (*PPM* 5); Romizzi 2006, 393, no. 452.
Decorative Scheme: On the side walls Paris, a cupid, and Helen.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A youth stands in the middle of the composition, leaning with his right arm on a pillar; he holds a thyrsus in his left hand. On the right is a female figure, possibly wearing a crown on her head, her right hand touching her shoulder.
Comments: Young Bacchus with either Venus or Ariadne on account of the crown, in the latter's case pertaining to the wedding diadem, the future corona borealis. Libera's iconography is too unknown.

D4
Location: Casa di Bacco, VII 4, 10, precise location not known.
Excavation: 1824.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Zahn 1828, no. 35: Bacchus, Ariadne and Acratus; De Witte 1845, 350 note 3 (*AdI*): child-satyr Comus, a family scene; Helbig 1868, 100–102, no. 402: Dionysus, a bacchant and a boy with no clear features of a satyr; Schefold 1957, 179: Bacchus-Ariadne with a satyr and Pan; Schöne 1989, 370, 405.
Decorative Scheme: Not known, in the same house Bacchus on a throne and a panther C21. Also some other mythological paintings.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of three figures standing on low bases. On the left, a boy stands in ¾ profile, back to the viewer, wearing a cloak (exomis) tied on his left shoulder; he has raised his

[403] Fröhlich 1991, 323 gives examples with a tunic of e.g. ' Hope Dionysus' at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and a painting depicting the discovery of Ariadne from house VIII 4, 4 and E13.

arms, and is holding a cup with his left hand, out of which he is drinking; with his right hand he grasps the forearm of the youth standing in the middle. The youth stands with his weight on his right foot, wearing green sandals and a cloak covering his thighs, left shoulder, and back; in his right hand he holds a cup, offering wine to the boy, and with his left he carries a thyrsus with a ribbon and possibly a pine cone on top; he is looking down towards the boy and wears a wreath on his head. On the right, partially behind the central youth, stands a fully dressed female with her weight on her left foot. Her right arm rests on her hip; she has long curly hair, adorned with a wreath decorated with red flowers. In the background, on the left, there are two statues on pedestals; the one in front is a bearded fully robed standing figure stretching his right hand forward and holding a thyrsus in his left. The other statue depicts a naked faun playing the aulos.

Comments: A young Bacchus is depicted with Ariadne or a maenad, a boy, and statues, the larger being a bearded Bacchus. The divinity is depicted twice in two iconographic variations. Instead of a drinking panther there is now a boy, probably identifiable as Comus.[404]

D4 Drawing W. Zahn (Berlin: Zahn H 402) shows the rare double portrayal of Bacchus. Zahn also commented about the main figures that: "Alle drei Köpfe haben den Ausdruck der Zufriedenheit."

D5

Location: Two houses combined into one with a caupona and a lupanar, IX 5, 14–16, room *g* (cubiculum) opening to the left front corner (east) of the atrium, east wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1878.
Condition: Partially damaged, with a large hole.
Measurements: H of the painting 50 cm (Fiorelli and Sogliano)/ 48.5 cm (Romizzi), W 42 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1878, 181 (*NSA*); Sogliano 1879, 120, no. 167: Bacchus and possibly Libera; Schefold 1957, 295: Bacchus and Ariadne; Bragantini 1999, 638–640 (*PPM* 9): Bacchus and Ariadne; Romizzi 2006, 485, no. 920; Hodske 2007, 163, no. 732.
Decorative Scheme: Hercules and Omphale, Europa and a bull, birds.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A composition of two persons, a panther, and a statue, outdoors on green ter-

[404] Comus has no specific iconography, but is depicted as a wreathed boy. His depictions are known from red figure Attic vases to Roman times, A. Kossatz-Deissmann *LIMC* 6:1, 1992 s.v. Komos, 97–98.

rain with a light blue background. On the left, a female wearing a yellow-orange tunic stands almost frontally with her weight on her left foot; she has a wreath of ivy on her head; in her right hand she holds a thyrsus, with her right she holds out a patera towards the youth in the middle. He stands with his weight on his right foot, wearing long boots, a pardalis, and a long violet cloak on his left arm; he has a wreath of ivy in his curly hair; in the bend of his left elbow he holds a thyrsus with a small bunch of leaves on top; in his right hand he holds a cantharus, out of which he pours wine into the mouth of a sitting panther with its right foreleg raised. On the right there is a pedestal, the front side of which is decorated with patera, on top of which stands a small dancing faun with hairy legs and hoofs; his right arm is outstretched, and in his left he holds a pedum.

D5 Drawing Reinach 109, 3 (RP 1922).

Comments: It is more likely that young Bacchus is depicted in the company of Ariadne rather than Libera, due to the colour of her dress perhaps a reference to *flammeum*[405].

D6

Location: Casa dei Vettii, VI 15, 1, room *q* (oecus), north wall, central zone, east side, floating figures in a red panel.
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the figures 60 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1896, 85–86. Bacchus and Ariadne; Sogliano 1898, 329–330 fig. 41, 341–342 (*MontAnt* 8): satyr with pointed ears; Reinach 1922, 141, no. 6; Curtius 1929, 144, 146; Richardson 1955, 130; Schefold 1957, 146: Bacchus and Ariadne; Schwinzer 1979, 30–31, 66–70, 139, no. 26: Bacchus and Ariadne; Archer 1981, 268–269; Sampaolo 1994, 546, 548–549 (*PPM* 5); Richardson 2000, 111: The Dioscuri Painter; Romizzi 2006, 401, *s.n.*; Vatin 2004, 103–104: Dionysus and Ariadne; Wyler 2009, *LIMC Suppl.,* 187 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, add. 34: Bacchus and Ariadne.
Decorative Scheme: Counterparts are Apollo and Daphne. Other floating figures are Neptune and Amymone, Perseus and Andromeda, Mars and Venus. In the upper zone there are a hermaphrodite and Silenus, and Bacchus with faun (F7), in the upper predella cupids.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A pair of floating figures on a cinnabar background. On the left, a youth wearing sandals, a nebris covering his left shoulder, and a blue cloak covering his right thigh. His head is almost in profile, he has a wreath of ivy in his curly hair, and in his right hand he holds a thyrsus;

[405] A flame-coloured veil worn by Roman brides, e.g. Plin. *nat.* 21,46.

D6 MonAnt 8 (1898), 329–330, fig. 41; Drawing Reinach 141, 6 (RP 1922).

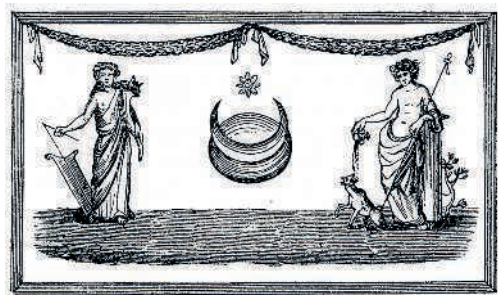
he is looking at the female clinging to his left arm. She wears a large nearly transparent cloak, holding it with her left hand. It covers her legs from the hips downwards and goes round the back, curving under the left elbow. She embraces the youth with her right arm; her head is in ¾ profile, decorated with a diadem; she has a bracelet in her left arm and a necklace.
Comments: Bacchus and Ariadne as floating figures are rare, but on account of the counterpart figures in the room these two can also be interpreted plausibly as gods. The difference between this kind of a simple depiction and the more elaborate mythological settings for Bacchus and Ariadne has been noted; the figures resemble satyrs and bacchants, but their motions are calmer and, besides, the male figure does not have satyr's ears.[406]

D7
Location: House with a caupona, thermopolium and lupanar, I 2, 20–21, garden *f* (viridarium) north wall, lararium.
Excavation: 1869.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 230 cm and W 162 cm.[407]
Bibliography: Mau 1873, 246 (BdI); Fiorelli 1875, 45–46; Sogliano 1879, 95, no. 38; Boyce 1937, 22–23, no. 13; Bruhl 1953, 150; Schefold 1957, 10; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 123, no. 1: female figure a combination of Isis and Fortuna; Gasparri 1986, 548 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 99;

[406] Schwinzer 1979, 68.

[407] According to Boyce, the measurements given by Sogliano were incorrect, as attested by the picture published by Fiorelli. The given height probably included the lower part with snakes, which is not, however, included in the published picture.

A. de Vos 1990, 47–48 (*PPM* 1); Fröhlich 1991, 250–251, no. L3.
Decorative Scheme: In the lower zone there are a snake, plants, an altar with a pine cone, and an egg. In the niche, several statuettes and a head of Bacchus from a herm.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two persons standing in a landscape, separated by a crescent on top of a globe with a star above. On the left, a standing female figure wears a tunic and a cloak, leaving her right breast bare, and a wreath in her hair; she holds a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. On the right, a youth is leaning on a short column with his weight on his right foot; he wears a cloak hanging down from the loins, going round his back and his left arm, in which he holds a thyrsus with a ribbon on top; in his right hand he has a cantharus, out of which he pours wine into the mouth of a sitting panther with right foreleg raised. A small vine grows to the right of the column. Above the composition are two garlands with ribbons, stretched overhead.
Comments: A young half-naked Bacchus is depicted in customary fashion. He is in the company of Fortuna, as identified by her attributes, in a garden lararium.



D7 Fiorelli 1875, 46.

D8
Location: House with a *caupona* and possibly a *fullonica*, I 11, 1, room 5 (room for clients) behind the bar, east wall, central part.
Excavation: 1912.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: *PPP* I, 149; Fergola – A. de Vos 1990, 506 and 514–515 (*PPM* 2); Eschebach 1993, 58; Richardson 2000, 160: The Meleagro Painter.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures standing in a landscape. On the left stands a youth with his weight on his right foot, leaning on a pillar; he wears a nebris falling from his left shoulder over his chest, and a cloak covering his left thigh but mostly falling on the column; he looks downwards at his right hand, pouring wine from a cantharus; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus. A panther sits with its left foreleg raised and drinks the wine. On the right stands a naked female figure with her weight on her right foot; in her raised right hand she holds a mirror, towards which she bends her head, and the raised left hand touches her hair; a cloak is falling down from her upper arm.

D8 Pompeii (GFN), also PPM 2, 514.

Comments: A young Bacchus with a panther and a naked female, perhaps Venus by her appearance.

D9

Location: House, IX 2, 19–21, room *f* (triclinium) between the atrium and the garden, next to the tablinum, west wall.
Excavation: 1869.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 126 cm, W 96 cm.
Bibliography: Brizio 1870, 49–51 (*GdSc N.S* 2:13): Apollo and a bacchant; Fiorelli 1875, 387: no identification; Sogliano 1879, 207, no. 621: no identification; Schefold 1957, 244: Bacchus and Ariadne; Sampaolo 1995, 843 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Bragantini 1999, 89, 95 (*PPM* 9); Hodske 2007, 163, no. 670.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: Two persons in a landscape. On the left, an almost naked youth sits slightly reclining on a stone; his body is in a ¾ profile, the head in profile; a cloak is hanging down from his back; he has a wreath on his head, which he touches with his right hand; his left hand is outstretched, touching the shoulder of the female figure next to him. She leans on a high pillar, with her left arm holding a thyrsus with very small decorations on top; she wears a tunic and a long robe; her right arm goes behind her back, and her face is turned away from the youth.
Comments: Bacchus, to judge by the thyrsus, depicted with Ariadne or a maenad. The youth is the more active figure.

D9 Drawing G. Discanno (MANN).

D10

Location: Caupona, V 4, 6–8, back room, probably near to the door 8.
Excavation: 1899.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the figures 70 cm and 68 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano (*NSA*) 1899, 345, fig 6; Schefold 1957, 84; Bragantini 1991, 1055, 1058 (*PPM* 3).
Decorative Scheme: On the other pillars are Mercury, a clothed Venus Pompeiana, and a cupid.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: Two persons are standing against a red background. On the left, a female figure in a green robe holds a tympanum in her right hand and a thyrsus in the left; she has a wreath of ivy on her head. In the middle sits a panther drinking from a cantharus held by the

D10 NSA 1899, 345.

youth on the right. The youth stands with his weight on his right foot and leans with his left on a pillar; he carries a yellow cloak on his arm and holds a thyrsus.
Comments: A Bacchus of the young and almost naked type, depicted with a maenad and a panther. Simple two-figure compositions with Dionysus and one of his companions were favoured already e.g. by the Python Painter in Paestan vases ca. 360–320 BC.[408]

D11
Location: Casa di M. Epidius Sabinus, IX 1, 22.29, room *t'* (exedra) next to the peristyle, west wall, south end, central picture.
Excavation: 1858.
Condition: Almost damaged.
Measurements: H and W of the painting 38 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 97, no. 384 b: Dionysus and a wreathed girl; Fiorelli 1875, 374; Schefold 1957, 238: Bacchus and Ariadne; *PPP* III, 398; Sampaolo 1998, 1040–1041 (*PPM* 8); Bragantini – Sampaolo 1995, 736 (*PPM Disegnatori*).
Decorative Scheme: On the north wall there are Hercules, Orpheus, and muses; on the west wall Diana and Actaeon in a sacral landscape.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: Two overlapping busts in ¾ profile on a blue background. Behind, on the left, a robed female figure with a necklace and earrings; she has long hair and wears a wreath of ivy; with the fingers of her left hand she fiddles with the long hair of a tanned naked youth on the right. He is depicted with effeminate breasts; he has a floral wreath around his neck and a wreath of ivy on his head; he holds a rhyton in his right hand and a thyrsus in his left hand.
Comments: An effeminate young Bacchus depicted with Ariadne or a maenad. The wreath or a short garland around his neck is a rarity.

D11 Drawing N. La Volpe in 1866 (above) emphasizes the breasts (MANN); Drawing Drawing L. Schulz in 1867 (below) does not show so such effeminate Bacchus (DAIR).

D12
Location: Two houses with commercial spaces combined, IX 5, 14–16, Casa del Ristorante, caupona and lupanar, room *f* (triclinium), east wall, central panel, MANN 111481.
Excavation: 1878.
Condition: Damaged.

D12 MANN 111481, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

[408] Trendall 1989, 202–203.

Measurements: H of the painting 105 cm, W 93 cm.
Bibliography: *NSA* 1878, 182–183: Dionysus and hermaphrodite; Sogliano 1879, 120–121, no. 168: Dionysus and hermaphrodite; Ruesch 1908, 336, no. 1413: Dionysus and hermaphrodite; Elia 1932, 86, no. 205: Dionysus and hermaphrodite; Schefold 1957, 260: room o, Bacchus and Ariadne, not hermaphrodite; Gasparri 1986, 557 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 225; Bragantini 1999, 626–627 (*PPM* 9): Dionysus and Ariadne; Richardson 2000, 153: Painter Lucius; Romizzi 2006, 484, no. 917: Dionysus and Ariadne; Hodske 2007, 162, no. 727: Dionysus and Ariadne.
Decorative Scheme: The other central pictures depict Pyramus and Thisbe, and the hardly identifiable but possible Bellerophon.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of six main figures with others in the background; the two figures in the middle are taller. A youth sits reclining backwords, his chest and head depicted nearly frontally; he wears sandals and a red cloak with white edgings covering both legs, his back, and part of the chair; his raised right hand touches the back of his head, and his left arm rests on the back of the chair; his long curly hair is decorated with a vine wreath. A fair female figure stands next to him with her weight on her right foot; she wears a long yellow cloak which she holds with both her hands; the right hand is bent to the right breast, keeping the cloak on the left shoulder, and the left hand holds the cloak on the hips; her right elbow touches the youth's upper arm; her head is in ¾ profile and her long curly hair is decorated with a fillet. Between these two figures there is a small cupid, leaning on the female and whispering in her right ear; the cupid's right arm is bent to his chest. In the foreground on the left stands a panther with both forelegs raised, looking at the youth. Behind it stands a faun with hoofs and long horns; its right arm is stretched towards a thyrsus held by Silenus standing behind him; the faun holds a syrinx and a nebris in its left hand. Silenus wears a blue cloak on his waist; his right arm is raised and supports a thyrsus with ribbons and possibly a pine cone on the top; in his right hand he holds a cantharus. On the right, behind the female, stands a satyr wearing a fur loincloth and a pine wreath. Above him is a draped red baldachin in front of a cliff. In the background, behind the main figures, is a larger thiasus of at least four figures, possibly harvesting grapes.
Comments: This composition is a development of the scene in E30, or an alternative artistic interpretation of Bacchus and Ariadne after having reached an understanding. The cupid is indeed sometimes depicted with Ariadne, not only with Venus. Ariadne's yellow robe can refer to her bridal status.

D13
Location: Casa dei Vettii, VI 15, 1, room *e* (oecus) southeast of atrium, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 73 cm, W 70 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1896, 20: Bacchus and Ariadne; Niccolini 1896 (IV), Nuovi scavi tav. 25, 33; Sogliano 1898, 255–259 (*MonAnt* 8): Dionysus and Ariadne; Rodenwaldt 1909, 156–158: Roman composition of Dionysus and Ariadne (Liber and Libera); Rizzo 1929, 61, pls. 23, 37; Beyen 1951, 246–247; Bruhl 1953, 149; Schefold 1957, 142; Ragghianti 1963, pl. 34; Peters 1977, 104, pl. 70; Archer 1981, 494–505; Gasparri 1986, 555–556 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no.

203; Blanc – Gury 1986, 985 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido no. 240; Sampaolo 1994, 488–489, 491 (*PPM* 5); Richardson 2000, 111: The Dioscuri Painter; Vatin 2004, 100–102; Romizzi 2006, 399, no. 483; Coralini 2011, 204, 206–207; Scapini 2016, 180.

Decorative Scheme: There are cupids depicted as various gods, one having a panther and a thyrsus; also satyrs, one with a thyrsus, a maenad, and Danae and Leda. The central picture of the north wall depicts Cyparissus.

Style and Dating: IV. The room is of high quality, but less magnificent than room *q*.[409]

Description: Five figures in the main composition, and at least four secondary figures in the background. A youth sits on a stone slightly turned to his left; he wears a red cloak edged with blue, which covers only his legs; his right hand rests on his right thigh, holding a crown with golden leaves; he leans on the stone with his left hand, holding a thyrsus with a very small bunch of leaves on top, pointing diagonally towards the middle of the picture; his hair is curly and decorated with a wreath of ivy. Next to him on the right, a robed female figure is seated on a higher level; she wears a blue cloak over her left shoulder; her right arm rests on the youth's right shoulder, her raised left hand holds an upright customary thyrsus; her head is in ¾ profile,

D13 Pompeii (2017).

D13 MonAnt 8 (1898), 257–258, fig. 9. A parallel from Herculaneum shows a more intimate scene (MANN 9262). Original drawing G. Morghen AdE 2, 85.

[409] Peters 1977, 104–105 discusses the dating.

and her curly hair is decorated with vine and a ribbon. In the foreground is a fallen cantharus, at the feet of the youth, and on the right a small winged cupid is preparing to fight with a small faun with hoofs and horns. On the right, above them, is Silenus, who is urging them to fight; he wears a red cloak around his waist; his right hand is above the fighters, his left holding a palm leaf. On the left, behind the youth, stand members of the thiasus; the first of the four figures is a satyr with a pine wreath, behind him are two maenads with thyrsi. Behind the female is a pillar, from which hang a yellow baldachin.
Comments: A young half-naked Bacchus in the company of Ariadne, watching the fight about to begin, and Silenus already preparing to reward the victor with the palm leaf. The female figure's dignified appearance suits Ariadne more than a maenad. His identification is also supported by her embracing arm. This motif of a fight between a cupid and a faun appears elsewhere as well; a good example is an outdoor scene from Herculaneum (MANN 9262).

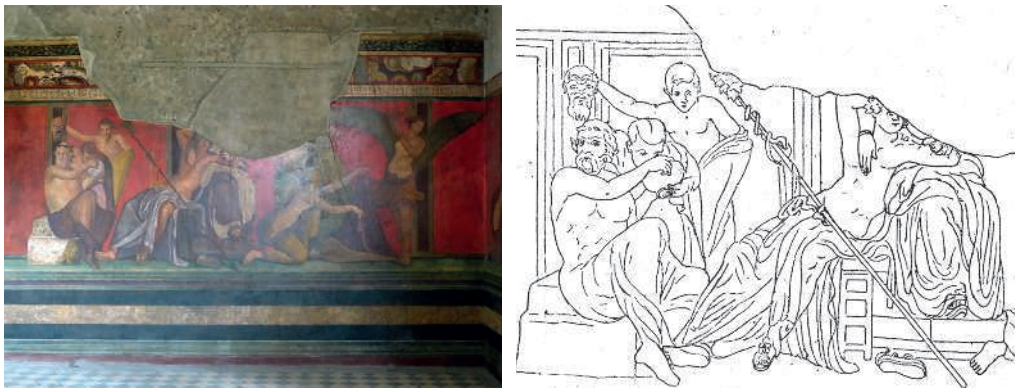
D14
Location: Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto, V 4, a.11, room 7 (tablinum), south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1901.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 41–45 cm, W 46–48 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1901, 342–343 *MDAI(R)* 16: Bacchischer Zug, Bacchus, Ariadne; Sogliano 1903, 153–155, 158–159 (*NSA* 1901); Curtius 1929, 296–298: painted from several model paintings combined; Schefold 1957, 85; Gasparri 1986, 556 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 208; M. de Vos 1991, 966, 1006–1013 (*PPM* 3); Clarke 1991, 151 and 157: does not approve the idea of combined models proposed by Curtius, and considers the motifs as common in pattern books; Peters – Moormann 1993, 216–219: part of the pictorial programme of divine love; Richardson 2000, 71, 76: The Lucrezio Frontone Painter; Romizzi 2006, 358–359, no. 243; Hodske 2007, 164, no. 168; Lorenz 2008, 117–118 and 548; Scapini 2016, 183.

D14 Pompeii (2017).

Decorative Scheme: In the socle there is a garden painting with trellis fences and a vase-shaped fountain against a black background. The background colour of the side fields of the central zone is also black, with small landscape paintings supported by candelabra. In the upper zone some Egyptianizing features. The central pictures are on a red (cinnabar) background framed with black; the one on the north wall depicts Mars and Venus. The slender architectural structures are complex. In the upper zone on a black background e.g. panthers and swans in an architectural setting.

Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of six figures, with animals on a light blue background. In the foreground on the left stands a tanned satyr with his weight on his left foot; his head, with a pine wreath, is in ¾ profile, and he looks away from the other figures, playing an aulos; a cloak undulates behind his thighs and on his left arm. Next to him, Silenus is riding a donkey; he wears yellow shoes, a yellow exomis with red edging, and pinkish braccae; he raises his right hand to protect his eyes, holding a thyrsus in his left hand. The donkey is depicted in ¾ profile, with his head turned towards the satyr; a tympanum and crotales hang down from his back. In the foreground on the right stand two female figures; the first, callipyge, dances tiptoeing and plays the crotales in her uplifted hands; she wears white shoes and a light blue transparent cloak, which hangs down from the left shoulder, turns to her right side, and then to the calves; her head is turned to the left in ¾ profile and her long hair is decorated with a fillet and tied in a ponytail. The second female figure is behind the former; she wears a long yellow robe and her head is in profile to the left. In the middle, two oxen pull a wagon with a luxurious lectus and two reclining figures. The first is a drunken youth adorned with a wreath and wearing a violet cloak, leaving bare the upper part of his body; he leans with his left forearm on the headboard, covered with purple fabric, holding in his hand a thyrsus with very long ribbons; in his right outstretched hand he extends a cantharus towards Silenus' back. The female figure wears a light blue robe; her left elbow rests on the headboard with her hand supporting the youth in front; her head is in ¾ profile, and her hair is decorated with a wreath.
Comments: This is the high point of the thiasus; all the participants are depicted in their colourful finery, and music is played in the procession. The artist shows a considerable level of skill in presenting his figures from many different viewpoints and with foreshortenings in a tight composition. Ariadne is depicted taking care of the intoxicated Bacchus. Silenos is riding a donkey, as in the wall painting in the Casa delle Amazzoni, B16.

D15
Location: Villa dei Misteri, room 5, east wall opposite the main door, central zone.
Excavation: 1909.
Condition: The wall painting is destroyed in the upper part of the mid composition.
Measurements: H. 162 cm.
Bibliography: De Petra 1910, 144: Dionyso… riposa in seno ad Ariadne; Winter 1912, 549–555; Maiuri 1947, 59–62, 125–178, esp. 152–155; Bruhl 1953, 151–154; Schefold 1957, 293–294; Herbig 1958, 22–25, 59, 66–67; Gasparri 1986, 555 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 195; Henderson 1996, 249, 255–258; Scatozza Höricht 2001–2002, 19–21; Patanè 2003, 28–53; Sauron 2009, 105–128; Scapini 2016, 195. For the bibliography also p. 17–19.
Description: The main composition opposite the entrance consists of three scenes. On the left there are three persons: an old Silenus and two teen age boys. Old Silenus sits on a quadrangular stone in a purple robe, his head covered with an ivy wreath, holding in his hands a jar and looking to his left, away from his companions. The boy in the middle wears a purple cloak and is bent forward, looking inside a jar, holding it from the bottom with his left hand. The other boy stands behind him, stretching his yellow cloak on his left arm and holding in his uplifted right hand a mask of a satyr, resembling a comic mask with an exceptionally long beard. The middle composition consists of two persons, on the left a reclining figure on a simple angular wooden seat, a drunken youth with a purple cloak over his legs; he has lost his right sandal and holds his



D15 The Great frieze shows Bacchus as its protagonist. Photo A. Tammisto Pompeii (2017); Drawing Reinach 115, 6 (RP 1922).

uplifted and bent arm behind his head; on his head a wreath of ivy lays on his dark, curly long hair; he looks up towards a robed figure immediately at his back, while resting with his left arm on the lap of this figure; his thyrsus lies diagonally on his seat, and is decorated with a yellow ribbon and a bunch of leaves. The other figure at the youth's back is sitting higher up, with feet on a rectangular podium, dressed in purple and white; on her pale left hand she wears a ring and holds a sponge; her right arm with a bracelet is on the youth's right shoulder, falling on his chest. The third composition, on the right, consists of four figures; two of which are in the background, one of which holding a tray with pine needles, and the last with her left arm lifted, wearing a light green large cloak; in front on the left is a female figure kneeling barefoot, wearing a transparent tunic which leaves her right shoulder bare, with a yellowish cloak with purple edges and a sakkos in her head; with her outstretched right hand she is in the process of uncovering a tall veiled object, while holding her left hand on its flat top; this object is covered with a purple cloth with considerable golden embroidery and a pinkish lining; a pole-like object almost parallel with the thyrsus lies on her left shoulder, pointing towards the middle of the tall object. On the right of the composition, slightly separated from the rest, stands a half-naked female wearing long boots and an ochre cloak with purple edges around her loin, waist, and thighs. Large darkish wings seem to rise from her lower back, curving up and outwards; her hair is drawn into a bun, and she watches across the corner of the wall towards the next composition; she holds a whip in her raised right hand, focusing on the next figure; she balances her movement with an uplifted left hand.

Decorative Scheme: A megalographic frieze on all four walls of this room, with 29 human figures including a considerable number of women, besides children, satyrs, and silens and two goats.

Style and Dating: II, first century BC, possibly ca. 70.[410]

Comments: The three scenes of the wall seem to be separate, without any interaction. Amongst

[410] The villa is made after 80 BC. Some scholars date the fresco to 60 BC, but the suggested phase Ib would mean 80–70 BC.

the plethora of possible interpretations, I would like to concentrate on the most obvious: seen on the left is the lecanomancy, either connected to the future of the youngster in the middle or a scene from a play. In the middle, one of the youths is a very drunken Bacchus, leaning on Ariadne and resting his hand on her head. This reclining pose is known from other wall paintings, e.g. E30, F25, and F31. As to the gesture of his right hand, it is also depicted when Bacchus is standing, in F22. The same composition, except with a panther, is also known from terracotta groups in Myrina, now in the Louvre, dated to the first century BC.[411] The scene on the right remains enigmatic due to the poor state of conservation. The object of the figures' interest has been interpreted in many ways; I would support the idea of a liknon. Ariadne is depicted taking care of the intoxicated Bacchus, perhaps using the sponge to refresh him. The established relationship supports the identification of Ariadne. A recently discovered wall mosaic (below, D16) uses the same images of Bacchus and Ariadne.

D16 Fountain wall
Location: House V 6, amb. 12 USR 421, fountain by a wall of a garden or a courtyard along Via del Vesuvio.
Excavation: 2018.
Condition: Partially destroyed, restored.
Measurements: H 45 cm, W 45 cm, depth 5.5 cm.
Bibliography: F. Muscolino in *Pompéi* 2020, 90–91, also 160–161.
Decorative Scheme: Not known. This is the centre mosaic below a niche with columns and a pediment.
Style and Dating: Early first century AD.
Description: The mosaic with opus vermiculatum technique is laid with tesserae of marble, various stones, shells, and glass paste. The composition consists of three figures in an architectural setting against a light blue background and a white floor area. On the left a man stands in ¾ profile looking down on a brownish basin on top of a low separate stand, a white column, entwined with garland; he wears a white cloak, *pallium*, which leaves bare his right shoulder, and ankle high sandals; he holds his right hand with open palm above the basin, while holding with his left hand on the fold covering his chest.

D16 The mosaic with Bacchus and Ariadne discovered in 2018. (Photo S. Compoint).

On the right there is a couple loosely embracing each other on a brownish podium. A languid male figure in front is reclining on a simple wooden seat, a purple cloak covering his right leg, he has already lost his right sandal; his right arm is bent behind his head and with his left he embraces his companion; his dark long hair is decorated with an ivy wreath and he looks upwards at his companion; on his seat a thyrsus is placed diagonally and decorated with blue

[411] Herbig 1958, figs. 31 and 32.

ribbons and a bunch of leaves. The figure behind the youth is sitting higher up with feet on the upper part of the podium, dressed in purple and white; the upper body is now restored, but the figure seems to be a female with dark hair, looking at the youth.

In the background there are white Ionic columns, which are fluted, with a narrow beam and two open arches above; from the arches seem to hang down a short drapery in red and green, while the purple wall is decorated above the arches with white wavy line and with yellow tied bands in the corners. The square shaped mosaic is framed with black tesserae.

Comments: The main protagonists, a drunken youth in the care of a somewhat anxious lady, are without doubt Bacchus and Ariadne. The restoration of the mosaic was partially based on the obvious iconographic similarity to the divine couple in the famous wall painting of the Villa dei Misteri (D15). Very minor distinctions consist of e.g. the different colours of the ribbons tied around the thyrsi. Depiction of the couple belongs to a long tradition, as the last generation of mosaicists in Pompeii used exactly the same image as the painters of the second style.

The scene is placed in a peristyle garden, where the man standing apart the couple is concentrating on the activity by the basin, understood here as a bronze *labrum* with a small fountain. Peristyles with arches are not unkown in Pompei, either, as two examples come from the houses called Casa degli Archi (I 17,4 and IX 7,20). He is robed in the fashion of philosophers with models e.g in Hellenistic sculpture, and interpreted here as a worshipper with a parallel in Pompeii in the house belonging to the Terme del Sarno complex, VIII 2,18.[412]

This is another example of running water associated with a Bacchic scene, in this case from the fountain itself and as a depiction in its decoration. The parallels in my Catalogue are B4 (fountain in fullonica), H4 (a public fountain), H7 (garden of the Casa dei Vettii), H9 (rain gutter) and even C24 (Stabian baths).

In the compositions D1–D11 Bacchus is depicted with generic companions, either with a single female who in some cases can be identified as Ariadne (D3, D4, D5, D6, D9, D11), or with a main female companion, who is also identifiable with Ariadne (D12-D15), and an additional minor figure or figures, such as a panther, a small boy, a cupid, a satyr, or a faun. The females are not, however, able to be connected to any specific event or myth. Whoever they might be, the scene, if recognizable, is outdoors and enlivened with vines, short columns or pillars, statues on pedestals, and even a construction site, or in its simplest form as a mere line representing the terrain. In the two-figure scenes Bacchus is standing mostly on the left side of the field, and in only three on the right (D7, D10, D11); he appears in different attires, from naked (D9–D11), to half-naked and sometimes wearing boots or sandals (D1, D5–D8), to being fully robed (D2). The interaction between the two figures varies from each seemingly minding their own business (D1, D7, D8, D10), to seeking contact with their eyes (D4), to actively touching the other (D9, D11), to chatting with each other (D2) and amorously embracing (D6). The interesting scene in D5 can be interpreted as a bridal scene, with the female wishing to share in the offered wine. In the wall paintings D12–D14 the young Bac-

[412] There is a man holding a cantharus and a patera in a IV style painting from level 1 atrium 4 south wall, Niccolini 1896 (IV), 'Nuovi scavi' 56–57, pl. 19; Sampaolo 1998 (PPM 8), 117.

chus is shown as accompanied by a female figure in situations other than those usually connected with his meeting Ariadne. These women have been interpreted as various females, but there is no reason why she could not also be identified as Ariadne. In all these various activities she seems to be already an established and peaceful partner of the divinity.

Libera in general is difficult to define, because she has no established attributes.[413] Fröhlich saw Pompeian Libera as a fully robed dignified companion with no cupids, but with a thyrsus instead, and nothing else to help in her identification. The first example in my material is D2, identified by Wyler as Venus, and the second is the figure in D1, identified as Libera since the 19th century, and the third is D3.[414] The cult of Venus was the most popular in Pompeii, and iconographically two different Venuses existed: the local, fully robed female and the less attired Hellenistic version, such as D8.[415] The local Venus was adorned with a mural crown or a diadem, and her attributes were a staff or a sceptre and sometimes a rudder, not unlike Fortuna.[416] The identification is nearly always strengthened by a cupid's presence. Unfortunately, in my material I cannot see sufficient grounds for the identification of Libera. The main couple in D15 and in the rare mosaic D16 are clearly related, otherwise their scenes are not alike.

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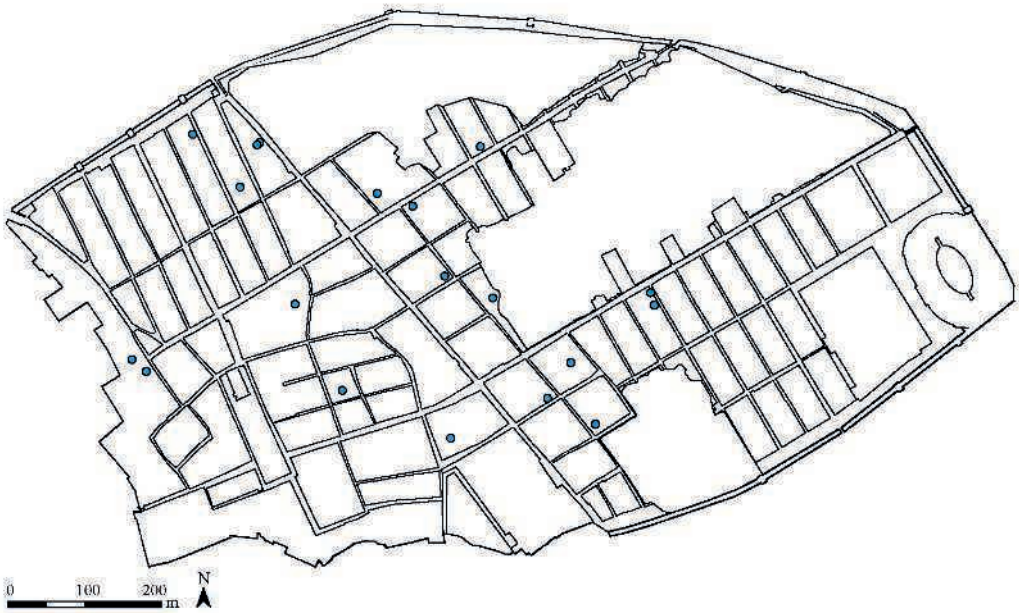
[413] Gasparri gives two examples of Bacchus with Libera and Ceres places other than Pompeii. In the first one, Libera carries no attributes, and in the second one she has covered her head with a sleeve of her cloak and a floral wreath, Gasparri 1986, 549 *LIMC* 3,1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, nos. 113–114; Müller – Wieseler 1877, pl. 31, no. 340 (*Denkmäler der alten Kunst* 2, Göttingen 1877); von Rohden 1911, pl. 31,1 (*Die antiken Terrakotten* IV, 2, Berlin 1911).

[414] Fröhlich 1991, 322–323, no. F41; Wyler 2013, 58. Other possible depictions of Libera include my D1, the painting on the northern side of Via Nolana, in which the female figure holds a thyrsus, and my D3, the central picture in the cubiculum of the House VI 14, 20, in which the female figure wears a crown.

[415] Sulla named the Roman colony *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum* and constructed a temple of Venus there. The local deity was called *Venus Fisica Pompeiana*, with origins in the *Mefitis Fisica* and the aforementioned *Herentas Erycina.*

[416] Fortuna holding a rudder in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left was depicted together with Bacchus in House I 2, 20–21 (D7). The procession of Magna Mater in the taberna IX 7, 1 has also been interpreted as the procession of Venus. A bearded Bacchus-herm is presented in the niche by this painting, Fröhlich 1991, 332, no. F63.



Location of E1–E21.

E – Bacchus discovering Sleeping or Awakened Ariadne

The myth of Bacchus discovering the sleeping Ariadne on the isle of Naxos was another popular subject in Pompeian wall paintings, comprising twenty examples.[417] The divinity is represented either alone or with a satyr (E1–E6), or accompanied by large thiasus (E7–E16), while Ariadne is depicted either sleeping or already awakened (E17–E20). The paintings depicting Ariadne's discovery have been divided into two main types by Stemmer, according to her position either as callipyge or with her body turned towards the viewer.[418] Hodske divided the paintings into three types, according to their attire and the nature of Bacchus' activity.[419]

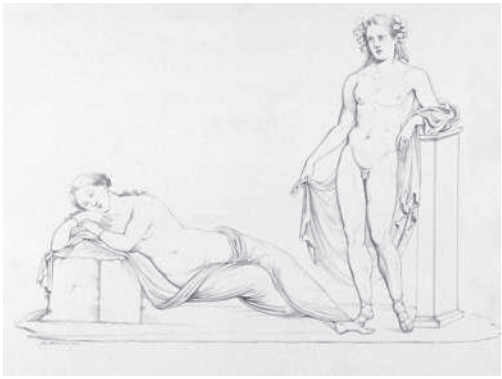
[417] In Pompeii, the abandoning of Ariadne seems to be a more common motif than her discovery, the difference being perhaps due to the former subject's popularity during the Third style. This is the case in vase painting as well. On sleeping Ariadne, e.g. McNally 1985, 158. 'Ariadne and Others. Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art', *ClAnt* 4 (1985) 152–192; Hodske 2007, table 3.

[418] Stemmer 1992, 51–52.

[419] Hodske 2007, 159–163: In the first type Bacchus wears a short chiton, a nebris or pardalis and boots, when going to save the sleeping Ariadne. In the second type, an almost naked Bacchus stands quietly and looks at the sleeping Ariadne. In the third type Ariadne is awake or either notices or does not notice Bacchus. Some paintings in Hodske's group of other motifs with Bacchus and Ariadne, such as paintings in

E1

Location: House with a workshop, VI 11, 4, next to the peristyle.
Excavation: 1842.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 137 cm, W 109 cm.
Bibliography: Avellino 1843, 67 (*BAN*): Bacchus and Ariadne; Helbig 1868, 258–259, no. 1233; Schefold 1957, 125; Bragantini 1995, 283, no. 76 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Hodske 2007, 161, no. 315.
Decorative Scheme: Not known, although this painting may have been a vignette or a panel.
Style and Dating: III.



E1 Drawing G. Abbate in 1842 (MANN).

Description: On the left, a sleeping female, resting her arms and head on a low pillar; she wears a cloak covering the legs, leaving her torso naked, but continuing to the top of the pillar under her arms; she has a bracelet on each wrist. On the right stands a naked youth with his weight on his right foot, leaning on a higher pillar; he wears sandals and a cloak, which he holds with his right hand and over his left forearm; he has a wreath in his long hair, and he looks down at the sleeping figure.
Comments: An almost naked canonical Bacchus discovers Ariadne, who is sleeping heavily, even if on an uncomfortable looking support.

E2

Location: Casa di un Flamine, V 4, 3, room *d* (triclinium) southeast of the atrium, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1899.
Condition: Damaged, the wreathed head in the left upper corner preserved.
Measurements: H of the painting 65 cm, W 64/63 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1899, 341–342 (*NSA*) room *d*: Dioniso, che coronato di pampini… sporge il busto … per rimirare la bella dormente ravvolta in un manto giallo, di cui un satiro coronato di pino solleva un limbo; Schefold 1957, 84 room *c*; *PPP* II, 96–97; Bragantini 1991, 1052–1054 (*PPM* 3); Romizzi 2006, 360, no. 255; Hodske 2007, 163, no. 175.
Decorative Scheme: There are cupids, a pe-

E2 NSA 1899,342.

V4, 3 (E2) ja VI 17, 42 (E20), belong rather to the discovery theme.

dum, a branch, and a griffon in medallions. The central pictures on other walls depict Narcissus and possibly Europa on a bull.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A composition of three figures (in the damaged condition of the painting) on a blue background. In the foreground, a sleeping female figure reclines to the left; she wears a yellow cloak, which covers only her legs. On the left is (the head of) a youth wearing a vine wreath on his head. On the right there is a satyr with a pine wreath uncovering the sleeping woman.
Comments: Bacchus discovers sleeping Ariadne, who is already dressed in a yellow robe suitable for brides. He is probably alone, except for the satyr on the other side of the picture. The vine leaves, if not the korymboi, on his wreath are quite well grown.

E3
Location: Casa dell'Ara Massima, VI 16, 15–17, room *f* (ala, tablinum or triclinium) on the south side of the atrium, east wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1903–1904.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 44 cm, W 42–46 cm (with frames 50 cm and 48 cm).
Bibliography: Sogliano 1908 *NSA*, 71–72: bacchant informing Ariadne of the arrival of Bacchus; Schefold 1957, 157: maenad; Schefold 1962, 139: maenad; Bernhard 1986, *LIMC* 3:1, 1062 s.v. Ariadne, no. 125: maenad; Stemmer 1992, 24 and 51–52: maenad or Bacchus, probably Bacchus, in tablinum; Stemmer 1994, 865 (*PPM* 5); Romizzi 2006, 406, no. 518: probably Dionysus and Ariadne; Hodske 2007, 159, no. 383: Dionysus and Ariadne; Berg 2007, 71: maenad and a sleeping hermaphrodite; Lorenz 2008, 119–120 and no. K40bO: maenad, probably not Ariadne; Gury 2017, 47–48, 51: Dionysos and Ariadne, though mixes the painting with the Selene and Endymion.

E3 Pompeii (2009).

Decorative Scheme: In the side panel there are vegetables in medallions; otherwise animals and masks. The central picture of the west wall depicts Selene and Endymion.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. In the foreground a sleeping almost naked female figure, with her back to the viewer; she is reclining on a stone, with her right arm supporting her head; she lies on a purple cloak which covers her legs; she has gold arm rings and her hair is fair. On the left, another figure steps energetically over the legs of the sleeping figure. He wears sandals and a purple robe with wide drapery, and a flaring blue cloak; he carries a thyrsus with a red ribbon and possibly a bunch of leaves on top under his left arm; his head is slightly turned to the left, and his long curly hair is darkish.
Comments: Sleeping Ariadne callipyge discovered by an effeminate Bacchus. The shadowing on his skin is broader and darker than the female's. The flaring cloak resembles that of Bacchus e.g. in the Casa del Citarista E7, referring to velificatio and to the epiphany of the divinity.

E4

E4 Pompeii (2011).

Location: Casa del Sacello Iliaco, I 6, 4, back part of the house, room *q* (cubiculum) behind the great triclinium, alcove, east wall, part of the marble imitation.
Excavation: 1913.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 30 cm.
Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953, 552: no identification; Schefold 1957, 24: finding of Ariadne; *Pompei 1748–1980*, 141, fig. 5; *PPP* I, 32: Ariadne and Dionysus; Moormann 1988, 146, no. 149/3: hermaphrodite and satyr; Bragantini 1990, 328–329 (*PPM* 1); Stemmer 1992, 51, note 390: a rare scene where satyr wakes Ariadne up; Thomas 1997, 136.
Decorative Scheme: On the next panel, a standing satyr playing the aulos and a sitting Silenus. Above, there are nereids, an armoury, and standing figures.
Style and Dating: II (Phase IIa).
Description: A composition of two figures painted with white on a red background. On the left, a half reclining robed female figure with her head inclining towards her right shoulder. The youth on the right side advances energetically, stepping with his left leg over the female's legs, with a pedum in his left hand.
Comments: Bacchus, with a pedum in hand, approaching a sleeping Ariadne would be a rare subject. It can be compared, however, with a painting in the Casa dei Cubicoli floreali I 9, 5 (E5, E6), in which Bacchus carries a thyrsus and another male figure carries a pedum. In the House of the Vettii VI 15, 1, a similar composition has been identified as a hermaphrodite with a satyr. If we accept the identification of E3 above, the advancing male, with his energetic step, would also make this figure Bacchus.

E5

E5 Pompeii (2010).

Location: Casa dei Cubicoli floreali/ del Frutteto, I 9, 5, room 8 (cubiculum), east wall, central zone, in a garden painting, painted marble relief (*stylopinakion*).
Excavation: 1913.
Condition: Slightly damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 27.5 cm, W 41.5 cm.
Bibliography: Maiuri 1952, 6–9; Le Corsu 1967, 243 and 245–247: resting Dionysus by a bacchant; Sichtermann 1974, 45: Dionysus and maenad; M. De Vos 1990, 20–22 (*PPM* 2); Romizzi 2006, 326, no. 83: Dionysiac scene, possibly Dionysus and Ariadne; Scapini 2016,

131, 138, 145.
Decorative Scheme: Two similar paintings are set among painted garden plants and animals. In one, a musical scene, in the other Dionysus and Ariadne, or a satyr and maenad (E6). The garden has many Egyptian features.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of two whitish figures on a light grey background. On the left, a female in yellowish robe reclines on a stepped platform, leaning on her right arm; in her left hand she holds a thyrsus; her head, adorned with a wreath of ivy, is depicted frontally. On the right stands a youth wearing only a yellow loincloth; he raises his right hand on top of his head, while the left hand holds a thyrsus with a ribbon, and possibly a pine cone at the bottom. The two thyrsi are depicted in parallel lines.
Comments: It is not unusual for the standing young Bacchus to raise his right arm above his head, as in several other paintings. The reclining fully robed figure is most likely Ariadne.

E6
Location: Casa dei Cubicoli floreali/ del Frutteto, I 9, 5, room 8 (cubiculum), south wall, eastern side, central zone, in a garden painting, painted marble relief (*stylopinakion*).
Excavation: 1913.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 28.5 cm, W 41.5 cm.
Bibliography: Maiuri 1952, 6–9; Le Corsu 1967, 243 and 245–247: Dionysus and Ariadne; Sichtermann 1974, 45: maenad and satyr by the pedum; M. De Vos 1990, 25, 29 and 31 (*PPM* 2): satyr discovers a maenad or more probably Ariadne; Romizzi 2006, 326, no. 85: satyr discovers maenad or Dionysus and Ariadne; Anguissola 2010, 316, 318, fig. 167: satyr and maenad; Scapini 2016, 132–133.

E6 Pompeii (2010).

Decorative Scheme: Among the plants and animals of the garden there are two similar paintings: one with a musical scene, the other with Dionysus and Ariadne (E5). Otherwise, the garden has many Egyptian features.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of two whitish figures on a bluish-grey background. In the foreground, a sleeping almost naked female figure callipyge with her back to the viewer; she is reclining and supporting herself with her left arm; she wears a whitish cloak, which covers her legs; she has a leafy wreath in her hair. On the right, a male figure steps energetically over the legs of the reclining figure; his curly long and floating hair is dark brown, adorned with a wreath; he carries a yellowish flaring cloak and a long pedum with long ribbons in his left arm; his right arm is outstretched, and he shakes the female figure by her right shoulder.
Comments: The pose of the non-sleeping figure with the energetic step is similar to E3 and E4,

the difference being in the various states of clothing, from fully robed to almost naked. His hair suits Bacchus well - thus young Bacchus discovering sleeping Ariadne.

E7

Location: Casa del Citarista, I 4, 5.28, room 35 (exedra) in the eastern end of the southern peristyle, central picture, MANN 9286.
Excavation: 1853.
Condition: Good, some colours faded though.
Measurements: H of the painting 192 cm, W 164 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 261, no. 1239; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 363; Ruesch 1908, 313, no. 1322; Rizzo 1929, 59, pl. 110; Curtius 1929, 307–310; Elia 1932, 46, no. 60; Elia 1937, 19–22; Warscher 1943 *Catalogo Sala LXXXII,* no. 10 (SIR); Schefold 1957, 16; Gasparri 1986, *LIMC* 3:1, 554, s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, no. 180; M. De Vos 1990, 118, 136–138 (*PPM* 1); Sampaolo 1994, 538 (*PPM* 5); Richardson 2000, 12, 87–88: [main] version suggested by the copybooks, The Achilles Painter; Romizzi 2006, 313, no. 26; Hodske 2007, 159, no. 21; Lorenz 2008, 376–377, 528; Scapini 2016, 158–160.
Decorative Scheme: In the central picture in the east wall Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades in Tauris.
Style and Dating: IV.

E7 Drawing A. Aurelj (DAIR).

Description: A composition of eleven figures. In the foreground, a reclining Ariadne callipyge, her head resting on the lap of a seated female figure on the right, who holds a low vessel with her left hand. On the left stands a youth wearing boots, a knee length bluish chiton, a yellowish nebris under a girdle, and a billowing bluish green cloak; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus, partly out of the picture; he looks down at the female figure, pointing at her with his left hand; he has short curly hair adorned with a wreath of ivy, and short horns. A winged cupid lifts the robe of the female figure.[420] Behind the cupid, a satyr and Silenus carrying a thyrsus are talking. Three other members of the thiasus, with their heads inclined towards each other, marvel at the scene. Behind on the left there is a Priapic statue on a high podium and a young satyr. Behind on the left there is a Priapic statue on a high podium and a young satyr.
Comments: The thiasus consist of seven figures besides a cupid. The tall young figure, Bacchus, is a velificans framed by his billowing cloak. The winged figure on the right is Hypnus, holding a vessel filled with Lethean water of forgetfulness to drip on the head of Ariadne.[421]

[420] The figure lifting the cloak varies. A cupid lifting: E7, E8 and E11; a satyr lifting: E9, E13; Pan lifting: E12, with a parallel in Herculaneum (Casa dell'Atrio corinzio, MANN 9271), Griesi 2011, 255–256, no. 37 (*DHER*), but in some sources in Pompeii, e.g Hodske 2007, 160, no. 807.

[421] This figure, identified variously as Hypnus, Nemesis, Parthenos, or Hymenaeus (amongst others), could

E8

Location: Casa degli Amanti, I 10, 11, room 8 (oecus or triclinium) between the atrium and the peristyle, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1933.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 100 cm, W 92 cm.
Bibliography: Elia 1934, 332 (*NSA*); Schefold 1957, 48; *PPP* I, 143; Ling 1990, 472–473 (*PPM* 2); Ling 2005, 124–126; Romizzi 2006, 332, no. 112; Hodske 2007, 160, no. 76.
Decorative Scheme: In the central panel of the west wall, an abandoned Dido. In a medallion, Pegasus. The third central panel cannot be identified.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of at least five figures. In the right corner foreground is a reclining female with her face towards the viewer; her yellow cloak covers her legs and is lifted by a cupid, who stands behind her. In the middle, a standing youth watches the sleeping female. Next to him stand two others, one wearing a red cloak down to the hips.
Comments: The foremost figure in the middle is Bacchus, and the one in the red cloak is Silenus. The pictorial programme of the room may concentrate on abandoned lovers, even if a better destiny awaits Ariadne.

E8 Pompeii, photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009).

E9

Location: Casa dei Vettii, VI 15, 1.27, room *p* (triclinium), south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 113 cm, W 103 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1896, 52–53; Niccolini 1896 (IV), Nuovi scavi tav. 31; Sogliano 1898, 299–300, 303–306 (*MonAnt* 8); Curtius 1929, 310–311; Beyen 1951, 247–248; Peters 1977, 105; Archer 1981, 433–447, Wirth 1983, 452–453: combines the pictorial programme in rooms *p* and *n*, the theme being the power of gods, especially of Zeus and his sons, to guarantee the world order; Daszewski 1986, *LIMC* 3:1, 1060 s.v. Ariadne, no. 97; Clarke 1991, 222, 225; Sampaolo 1994, 531, 538–540 (*PPM* 5); Romizzi 2006, 400–401, no. 492; Hodske 2007, 160, no. 358; Scapini 2016, 180.

E9 Pompeii (2017).

be depicted either as a male or a female, e.g. H. Lauter-Bufe, *Zur Stilgeschichte der figürlichen pompejanischen Fresken* (*diss.* Köln 1967), Erlangen [1969] 15–16.

Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the east wall depicts the punishment of Ixion, on the north wall Daedalus and Pasiphae and a seated Bacchus (B18). The intense red colour emphasizes the richness of the decoration.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of at least eight figures, with more behind. In the foreground, a sleeping female callipyge reclines to the right; she lies on a panther skin, a mattress, and pillows; she wears blue flowers in her fair hair. Behind the pillows is a female with a patera. On the left stands the largest figure, wearing a purple cloak and a wreath of ivy in his curly hair, and carrying a thyrsus in his left arm. Behind his right arm are two small satyrs, both looking warily at the sleeping female, and by his left side are three figures, one of whom lifts the female's green cloak, raising his left hand in amazement. Behind, on the right side of the field, is a column on the top of a rock with three more small figures, also gaping at the scene. In the background in the middle is Theseus's ship under full sail. In the lower left corner a tympanum and crotales, in the right a seated small cupid with wings also watches the scene.
Comments: The positions and places of the protagonists differ, as do the reactions of the onlookers, otherwise very much as the many other wall paintings depicting this subject. The horizontal line is exceptionally high.

E10

Location: Casa dell'Ara Massima, VI 16, 15–17, room *g* (triclinium) south of atrium, west wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1903–1904.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 55 cm, W 60 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1908, 78–79 (*NSA*); Schefold 1957, 158; Bernhard 1986, *LIMC* 3:1, 1062, s.v. Ariadne, no. 126; Stemmer 1992, 28; Stemmer 1994, 877 (*PPM* 5); Richardson 2000, 96, 103: The Adone Ferito Painter; Hodske 2007, 160, no. 386; Lorenz 2008, 112–114, 413 and 575–576.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture of the north wall depicts Venus and Mars, on the south wall Selene and Endymion, with Hercules on the east. In the side fields there are busts in medallions.

E10 Pompeii (2009).

Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of at least six figures; the two on the right are in an arching cave-like space, marked with dark brown. In the foreground, a female reclining to the right, raises her right arm to the top of her head as if awakening; a pink cloak covers her legs. Behind her stands a figure with green wings, dressed in a green robe, holding branches in her right hand and a large patera in her left. On the left side of the picture stands a youth stretching his right arm to the

E11 Original drawing N. La Volpe, MB 13, 6. There are other drawings of this painting, e.g. by G. Marsigli (MANN, ADS 621); MANN 9278 (2017).

left, with a red cloak covering his left shoulder; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus. Behind are members of the thiasus, perhaps with Silenus on the left.
Comments: Another version of the same theme, but Bacchus now seems to be paying less attention to the awakening Ariadne.

E11
Location: Casa dei Capitelli colorati, VII 4,31.51, room 24 (or room *i*, oecus), west wall, central picture, MANN 9278.
Excavation: 1822.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 105 cm, W 97 cm (Helbig), H 72 cm, W 72 cm (Hodske).
Bibliography: Zahn (1828–1844) 2, Taf. 60; Quaranta 1843, *MB* 13, tav. 6; Helbig 1868, 260, no. 1237; Niccolini 1896 (IV), Nuovi scavi suppl. tav. 33; Reinach 1922, 113, no. 1; Rizzo 1929, pl. 109: right; Elia 1932, 86, no. 202; Warscher 1937, DAI, *Codex* VII 4 nos. 137–139: room 26 or *l* (triclinium); Warscher 1943, SvIR, *Catalogo Sala LXXXII* no. 12; Schefold 1957, 184; Ragghianti 1963, 127; Gasparri 1986, 554 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 182; Bernhard 1986, *LIMC* 3:1 1062 s.v. Ariadne, no. 127; Descoeudres 1996, 1046–1047 (*PPM* 6); Richardson 2000, 12, 169–170: The Panthera Painter; Romizzi 2006, 427, no. 603; Hodske 2007, 74, 159–160, no. 473; Lorenz 2008, 398–399 and 584; Scapini 2016, 177.
Decorative Scheme: On the north wall, Apollo or Sol with Rhodus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of thirteen figures. In the right corner foreground, a sleeping female figure is reclining to the right; a violet cloak covers her legs and she raises her right arm on top of her head; she is supported by a winged figure at her back, with a large bowl in the left

hand and a branch in the right. A winged cupid lifts the sleeping female's cloak, while raising his right arm towards the tall male figure in the middle, standing on top of a low rock. He wears high boots and a cloak, barely covering his left arm and right thigh; his long curly hair falls to his shoulders and is covered with a wreath of ivy; in his raised right hand he holds a thyrsus with ivy leaves on top. On each side there is a maenad with thyrsi and wreaths of ivy, obviously checking his reactions. On the left, Silenus is being pulled up to the rocky scene by a satyr bending down from the exercise. Behind are more satyrs and maenads, some of whom are following Silenus' progress. At the back, a wall with an opening through which a tree is growing; behind it, a calm sea and another rocky formation.
Comments: The composition is divided into three events, from the awakening Ariadne to an admiring Bacchus and to old Silenus trying to get up to share in the scene.

E12
Location: Casa della Caccia nuova, VII 10,3.14, room *o* (tablinum), south wall, central picture, MANN 111484.
Excavation: 1821.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 88 cm, W 81 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 260, no. 1236; Schefold 1957, 199; Schefold 1962, 142, pl. 167:2; Gasparri 1986, *LIMC* 3:1, 554, s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus, no. 181; Bragantini 1997, 409 (*PPM* 7); Richardson 2000, 127: The Io Painter; Romizzi 2006, 440, no. 667; Hodske 2007, 79, 161, no. 519.
Decorative Scheme: Several Bacchic motifs, such as attributes, throughout the house. In triclinium *s* a bust of young Bacchus.[422]
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A composition of six figures. In the left foreground a sleeping female callipyge is reclining on a green pillow to the left. A tall youth on the right stands with his weight on his left leg; his purple cloak covers his right thigh, goes round his waist and up to his left forearm; his brownish curly hair is decorated with a wreath; he looks down at the female intensively, lifting her yellow cloak with a red lining with his right hand. On his right side stands a small faun with hoofs, wearing a loincloth; his hair is short and curly with long horns pointing backwards; he points with his hand at the sleeping woman and watches the youth. Behind, on the left, stands Silenus wearing a red cloak, and holding a stick or a thyrsus in his left hand. Behind him are the heads of two more figures. In the upper background a rocky seascape with a ship in full sail.
Comments: A tight composition on the seashore, with a limited amount of companions, and now without Hypnus.

E12 Drawing A. Aurelj (DAIR).

[422] Helbig 1868, 97, no. 385; Richardson 2000, 127: Bust of Bacchus and maenad, The Io Painter.

E13

Location: Casa dei Postumii/Casa di Marcus Holconius Rufus, VIII 4,4, room 31 (exedra) south of the peristyle, west wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1855–1861.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 122 cm, W 99 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1861, 87 and pl. 7 (*GdSc*); Minervini 1861, 95–96 and pl. 12 (*BAIt*); Helbig 1868, 261–262, no. 1240; Reinach 1922, 112, no. 6; Beyen 1951, 255; Schefold 1957, 224, room 28; Sampaolo 1995, 419–420 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Bragantini 1998, 505 (*PPM* 8); Richardson 2000, 97, 104: The Adone Ferito Painter; Romizzi 2006, 460, no. 773; Hodske 2007, 159, no. 600.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture of the east wall depicts a hermaphrodite surrounded by a thiasus; on the south wall, Narcissus.
Style and Dating: IV.

E13 Original drawing G. Abbate, GdSc 1861, tav. 7.

Description: In the main composition five figures, and in the background on the right at least eight, and on the left two more figures. In the foreground, a sleeping female callipyge in a greyish purple cloak covering only her legs. A tanned muscular satyr with a wreath on his head stands astride her, and lifts her cloak with his right hand, looking backwards and raising his left arm. On the left stands a youth wearing high boots, a knee length chiton, and a nebris covering his torso; his undulating cloak forms an arch at his back; in his right hand he holds a thyrsus with at least a ribbon on top, and with his left he points towards the sleeping figure. Behind the satyr stands a woman with her back to the viewer, wearing a long chiton and a cloak round her waist; she carries a tympanum in her left arm, watching the entering thiasus with Silenus foremost. In the left upper corner two figures lean on a rock, watching the scene. On the right stands a winged robed figure gazing towards the tall figure.
Comments: A customary theme of discovering Ariadne in a rocky landscape, but the details are original, such as the challenging-looking Hypnus, more interested in Bacchus velificans than tending her, the well-built satyr, and the large entourage just arriving on the scene.

E14

Location: Casa e panificio di Papirius Sabinus, IX 3, 19, house with a bakery, room *e* (triclinium/oecus), east wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1870.
Condition: Almost damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 130 cm, W 115 cm.

Bibliography: Sogliano 1879, 178, no. 538; Sampaolo 1999, 352–353 (*PPM* 9); Bragantini 1995, 844–845 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Romizzi 2006, 479, no. 883; Hodske 2007, 160, no. 697.
Decorative Scheme: On the central picture of the west wall, Ceres, Proserpina, and Triptolemus.
Style and Dating: III, phase II B.
Description: A composition of at least eight figures. In front, by the sea, a female figure sleeps on her back on a mattress of leaves, covered with a blue blanket; her head is resting on a high blue pillow; a purple cloak covers her legs. In the middle stands a fully robed youth wearing high boots, a red chiton, and a purple cloak; he is carrying a thyrsus and points towards the woman with his languid right hand, supported by the satyr on his right side. He wears a short cloak, a loincloth, and a pine crown. Behind these are several figures with thyrsi, and one with a tympanum, watching the scene.
Comments: The scene of a fully robed Bacchus discovering Ariadne is depicted as seen from the sea. Exceptionally, she is lying on a mattress, as in E9.

E14 Drawing G. Discanno (MANN).

E15
Location: Casa della Regina Margherita, V 2, 1, room *r* (triclinium), south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1883.
Condition: Destroyed. Only the right side was preserved when discovered.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1883, 286–287 (*NSA*): figures in the background are a river god and a nymph with reed wreaths; Schefold 1957, 70: abandoned Ariadne; Sampaolo 1991, 774, 796 (*PPM* 3): the epiphany of Dionysus; Romizzi 2006, 351, no. 209: the epiphany of Dionysus due to the divinities shown; Hodske 2007, 161–162, no. 141
Decorative Scheme: In the side field, psyche and an amphora. The central panel on the east wall depicts Narcissus, the damaged central panel of the west wall depicted a raging Lycurgus, with a panther and now destroyed Bacchus in F29. In the upper zone a dancing satyr, Fortuna, and a standing Bacchus with a panther C7.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: In the right corner, the head of a sleeping figure reclining towards the right, depicted almost frontally. Behind her are two male heads, the bearded one with a jar, both wearing wreaths with tendril-like attachments.
Comments: Probably a young Bacchus with his thiasus, advancing towards a sleeping Ariadne.

E15 Drawing G. Discanno (DAIR).

E16

Location: Casa della Fortuna, IX 7, 20, room *i* (triclinium) next to the peristyle, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1879.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 58 cm, W 57 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1883, 52–56 (*BdI*); Schefold 1957, 271; Schefold 1962, 142, pl. 178:2; Bragantini 1999, 848 (*PPM* 9); Romizzi 2006, 490, no. 954; Hodske 2007, 160, no. 765.
Decorative Scheme: The central panel of the east wall depicts Mars and Venus, on the west wall Adonis.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of at least nine figures. In the main scene, a sleeping woman with a cloak covering her legs is reclining against a boulder in the foreground; she is attended by a robed winged figure holding a bowl in her left hand and a branch in her right hand. Behind on the left stands a youth with his weight on his right foot; he wears sandals and a long cloak covering his legs and extending over his right arm; he looks at the scene, halting the thiasus behind him with his right arm; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus with ribbons and a bunch of leaves on top; he has a wreath in his long hair. Silenos, with a pedum, observes the scene, while the other members of the thiasus, some of them carrying thyrsi, do not. On the right, behind the scene, is a cliff with an arching branch of a tree.

E16 Drawing E. Discanno (DAIR).

Comments: Another type of composition, divided into two halves by Bacchus' upright thyrsus. The one on the right is filled with Ariadne and Hypnus, who is looking worried at the crowd of the entering thiasus on the left half.

E17

Location: Casa dei Capitelli colorati, VII 4, 31.51, room 28 (oecus) east wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1822.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H and W of the painting 72 cm.
Bibliography: Finati 1835, (*MB* 11) Tav. 35; Helbig 1868, 259, no. 1234; Reinach 1922, 111, no. 6; Warscher 1937, DAI, *CTP* VII 4 no. 176–178, room *k* or 27; Schefold 1957, 184, room *g*; Sampaolo 1995, 833, no. 12, (*PPM Disegnatori*); Descoeudres 1996, 1072–1073 (*PPM* 6); Romizzi 2006, 428, no. 608; Hodske 2007, 162, no. 475; Lorenz 2008, 108, no. K48fO; Scapini 2016, 177.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of five main figures on the sea shore. In the foreground, a female figure sits on a blue mattress slightly reclining to the right; she wears a red cloak covering her

legs and a blue robe, which she lifts with her raised right hand to wipe away tears from her right eye; the head is in ¾ profile facing towards the viewer, her brown hair is curly, decorated with a golden fillet; she has golden bracelets. Behind her, next to a high rock, stands Silenus, holding a thyrsus with leaves on top in his right hand; he has a wreath of vines on his head and is slightly turned towards a standing youth, who holds his right arm around Silenus' shoulders. The youth wears a red cloak, which covers his legs and back, and holds a thyrsus in his left hand; his head is in ¾ profile; his long and curly hair is decorated with a wreath of ivy. Behind the youth stand two members of the thiasus with pine wreaths; only the head is visible of the one in the middle, the other on the left wears a greenish peplos. The reclining female figure seems to be unaware of the group behind her, as her attention is drawn to a ship sailing away, with at least six figures around the mast.
Comments: The relationship to the scenes depicting a sleeping Ariadne above is obvious. The sequence of the events is tighter here: the sailing Theseus is not far from the shore, Ariadne is barely awake but already aware of his departure, and Bacchus with his companions have just arrived. The central position of Silenus, of equal height with the divinity, is rare.

E17 Original drawing N. La Volpe, MB 11, 35; There are also drawings by S. Mastracchio (MANN, ADS 622) which was made also a chromolithography by H. Roux.

E18
Location: Casa della Fortuna, IX 7,20, room *l* (cubiculum), south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1879.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 33.5 cm, W 34 cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1883 (*BdI*); Schefold 1957, 271; Schefold 1962, 173 and pl. 177,1; Bragantini 1999, 862 (*PPM* 9); Romizzi 2006, 490–491, no. 958; Hodske 2007, 79, 162, no. 767; Lorenz 2008, 109, no. K78bW.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the east wall depicts Ariadne giving a ball of

E18 Drawing G. Discanno (DAIR).

thread to Theseus, on the north wall Neptune and Amymone. In the side fields are cupids with the attributes of Mars, Diana, Mercury, and Hercules.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures on the shore. In the foreground on the left, a female figure sits supporting herself with her right upright arm on the ground; her head with airy curls is in profile; she wears a cloak that covers her legs; she points with a long arm and with her forefinger towards the youth on the left. He stands with his weight on his left foot, leaning on a rock with his right elbow; he wears a cloak covering both legs; he nonchalantly holds a cantharus in his left hand and a thyrsus with a ribbon and other decorations on top in his right hand; his hair is long and curly, and he is looking down at the sitting female. In the background a ship under full sail moves away.
Comments: A half-naked Bacchus is observing Ariadne, who points her finger (accusingly?) at the newly arrived stranger or Theseus' ship.

E19
Location: Casa di M. Fabius Rufus, VII 16, 22, big room 62 (salone absidato, possibly triclinium or oecus) opening to the town wall, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1759, 1910, 1940, 1958, this part 1960–1980.
Condition: Partially damaged.
Measurements: H and W of the painting 99 cm.
Bibliography: *PPP* III, 274; Bragantini 1997, 1094–1095 (PPM 7); Romizzi 2006, 451, no. 722: the statue depicts Athene; Hodske 2007, 162, no. 565: the statue depicts Artemis; c, 215–216: darker colour of the skin than usually; Lorenz 2008, 116 and 299–302, no. K60bS; Grimaldi 2014, 33.
Decorative Scheme: On the south wall, a satyr opens cista mystica, horae, in the upper zone Apollo. The central picture on the south wall most probably depicts Apollo, Venus, and Hesperus, who in research is sometimes identified as Bacchus. See the comments in the end of section F.
Style and Dating: IV.

E19 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

Description: A composition of two main figures facing each other in a sacred area by the sea. A female callipyge scrambles up from the ground, helped by the youth opposite her; she wears a purple and blue cloak covering her left side; both her legs are still bent, although the right is nearly straight, and her hands are held by the youth. He watches the female, holding the customary thyrsus in his left hand. In the foreground, in the middle, is a fallen vessel; on the right stands a panther depicted in ¾ back view, looking at the couple with its forelegs raised and tail upright. Behind the youth on the right is a small figure, probably a satyr, with a rhyton. Behind the scene above the couple is a narrow-bodied brownish vase (oenochoe) on a pedestal. On the left is a draped statue depicting a goddess holding a bow.

In the seascape, a ship is moving away with full sails.
Comments: This scene is exceptional in many ways: for the couple's and panther's postures, and for the rich environment with a statue and vessels. A Bacchus of the half-naked type helps a confused Ariadne up, while Theseus's ship is sailing away. The statue of Diana adorned with a crown has a bronze parallel in the sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii.[423] The horizontal line is very high.

E20
Location: Casa del Bracciale d'oro, VI 17, 42, longish room 20 (triclinium) on the north side of the middle floor, north wall, central picture, deposited in Pompeii P 41658.
Excavation: 1974.
Condition: Good, some fractures.
Measurements: H of the painting 118 cm, W 95 cm, with frames 126 cm and 101 cm.
Bibliography: *PPP* III, 11–15; Sampaolo 1996, 80–83 (*PPM* 6): drunken Bacchus and maenad; Richardson 2000, 126: Bacchus, Silenus, and a maenad, The Io Painter; Romizzi 2006, 411, no. 537: Bacchus discovers Ariadne; Hodske 2007, 163, no. 404: Bacchus and Ariadne or maenad.
Decorative Scheme: Around the painting there are garlands, birds, floating figures, e.g. maenads, and in the vault Victory and possibly Silenus. In the central picture of the south wall, the wedding of Alexander and Roxana.
Style and Dating: IV (Neronian).

E20 Pompeii (2019).

Description: A composition of three figures on the shore of a rocky landscape. In the middle, a youth sits on a stone wearing a red cloak with blue lining, which covers his thighs, hangs between his legs, and crosses over his raised right forearm; his right hand touches his head, with curly hair and a wreath of vine with grapes; the left upper arm supports a thyrsus, and the left hand is stretched out, gripping the right breast of a standing, almost naked female on his left. She stands with her weight on her right foot, wearing a blue cloak with yellow lining, which extends behind her shoulders and elbows, its sleeves hanging behind her legs and over her thighs; with her hands she clasps the sleeves to cover her lower body, and with her right hand she grasps the left hand of the youth; her head is in ¾ profile, and her brown hair is long with a small hair ornament. She looks overcome. On the left, behind the youth, stands Silenus looking astonished at the couple; he has a thyrsus in his right hand and a tympanum in the left; in his hair there is a leafy wreath of vine. In the background on the right, a ship is sailing away; in both corners there are barren stems of trees.
Comments: Instead of portraying Bacchus just discovering Ariadne, the situation here has al-

[423] Van Andringa 2012, 94–95.

ready developed. He is drunk and making a pass at her. She is standing wide awake, looks a little surprised by the encounter with a tipsy looking stranger, and makes efforts to protect her modesty. The horizontal line is very high.

E21

Location: Casa di Achille/Stronnius, IX 5, 2, room *c* (cubiculum) east of atrium,[424] south wall, central panel.
Excavation: 1877.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H 108 cm, W 81 cm, H of the standing figure 95 cm.[425]
Bibliography: Fiorelli in *NSA* 1878, 42: seated Bacchus, Bacchant, Silenus; Mau in *BdI* 1879, 49–50: Hermaphrodite, bacchant, Silenus; Sogliano 1879, 200, no. 595: Hermaphrodite; Schefold 1957, 252: Bacchus, Ariadne and Silenus; Schefold 1962, 166; *PPP* III, 451: Hermaphrodite and maenad; Carratelli 1999 (*PPM* 9), 376; Hodske 2007, 80, 274–275, no. 700: Ariadne and Dionysus/Hermaphrodite and maenad.

E21 Drawing G. Discanno (DAIR).

Decorative Scheme: The vertical and horizontal red lines divide all the walls, supplemented with yellow horizontal bands with ornaments. In the socle there are various vessels. The other two central pictures, framed with red bands, are Mars and Venus on the north wall, and on the eastern back wall a masculine figure with a nimbus, possibly Sol. The side fields have birds and griffins, also a huntress. The white upper zone is mostly destroyed.
Style and Dating: IV, Vespasian (Schefold).
Description: A composition of three figures on a white background. On the left a female callipyge is depicted stepping forward with a yellowish cloak covering the back of her legs; She carries a thyrsus in her left arm; her head is in profile to the right and her long hair is adorned with a wreath; she looks intently at the youth on the right, and is about grip his genitals. He sits reclining with a reddish cloak with blue ornaments covering his legs and left elbow; he carries a thyrsus in his languid right hand and leans with his left arm on a support (stone?); his head is bent and in ¾ profile, with long hair probably adorned with a wreath. In the middle a little further back stands a bearded figure wearing a green cloak, his hair adorned with an ivy wreath; he looks disapprovingly at the female, making an appalled gesture with his right hand. In the right corner there is a tympanum, in the background a baldachin, and above it blue sky.
Comments: The indoors scene depicts a lascivious maenad, and a lethargic Bacchus with a dis-

[424] Mau 1879 and Schefold 1957: room *e*.

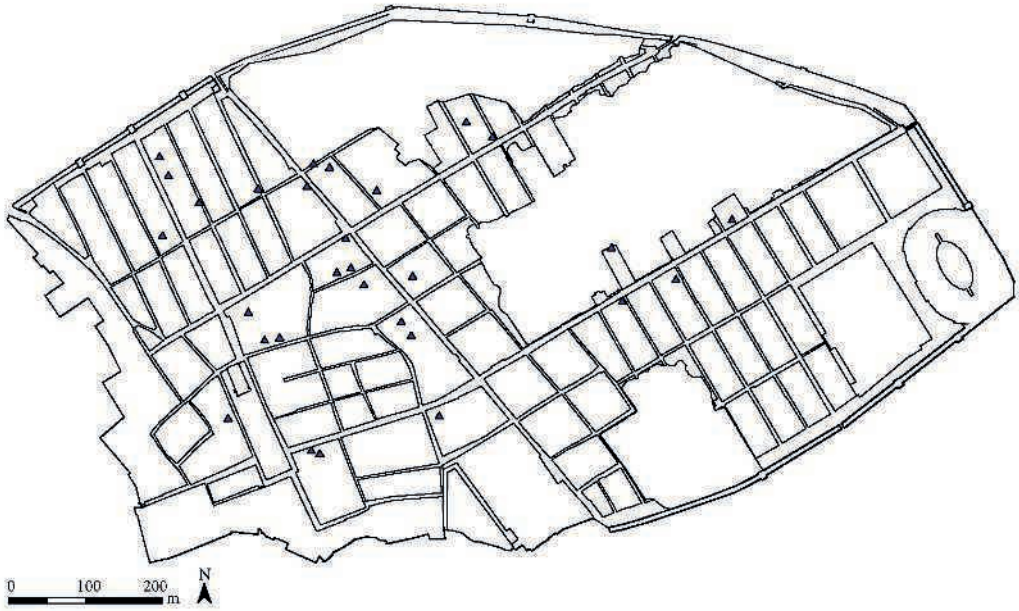
[425] Mau 1879: H 107 cm, W 98 cm.

approving Silenus. The scene is a variation of F20 above, now with opposite roles and an active maenad instead of a passive Ariadne.

We have six paintings of young Bacchus either alone (E1–E6), or accompanied once by a satyr (E2), and without a large thiasus, discovering a sleeping or at least a reclining female, mostly identified as Ariadne. The variation comes from the different postures of both figures; the female's head is facing either to the right or to the left, or backwards, or facing the viewer. The male figure either approaches the scene energetically, even stepping over the legs of the female (E3, E4, E6), and once shaking her by the shoulder (E6), or else he stands passively admiring the beauty, and sometimes a helper lifts the female´s cloak. Every stage of waking someone up is represented, from first quietly admiring her to almost violently rousing her by grasping her shoulder. She rests on steps or stones – not very comfortably – and either her back or front is towards the viewer. The favoured placement of the wall paintings with this subject seems to be on east or south walls, possibly indicating the moment of the event as either in the very early hours of the day or the forenoon.

All ten of the wall paintings of Bacchus discovering the sleeping Ariadne (E7–E16) with his thiasus are central pictures. The compositions consist of a reclining female figure and a standing Bacchus, along with a mixed group of his followers numbering from five to thirteen. The figure usually represented as winged and standing nearest to the head of Ariadne is Hypnus. There is no doubt as to the identification of Hypnus, due to the vessel held by the head of Ariadne – it is for the Lethean water; the branch (E10, E11, and E16) in Hypnus' hand was probably used to shade the sleeping Ariadne, or even as a fan. Whatever the composition, Ariadne is always depicted in the foreground, usually either in a ¾ frontal position or as callipyge. The variation comes from her position, with her head either to the left or to the right, and from her lying either on stones or boulders, or rarely on a mattress. In most examples the viewpoint is towards the sea, with the only exception being E14 with a view towards the shore. The variation in depicting Bacchus comes from the degree of his interest in the scene in front of him, and from his clothing, and otherwise from the number and type of his companions, their reactions, and from their actual presence already at the site or still approaching it.

The basic setting in the four wall paintings with an awakened Ariadne (E17–E20) is the same as in the previous examples with Ariadne still sleeping. The variation comes from the smaller number of participants, if any, the placement of the scene, and the varying intensity of Bacchus' reaction, and further from the different stages Ariadne's activity: from awakening, crying over her destiny, to scrambling up to her feet, or even grasping the genitals of her rather unfocused companion; a correspondingly unfocused Bacchus grasps her breast. Theseus' ship is depicted in six of the paintings (E9, E12, E17–E20). Without using any words, the pictorial narrative is nevertheless most lively in these wall paintings.

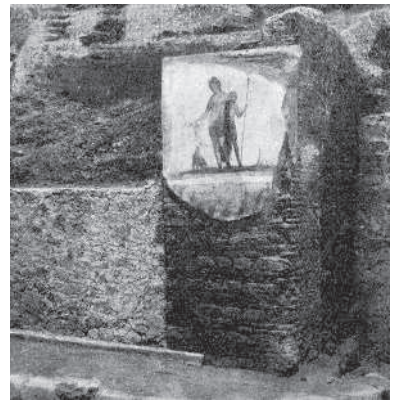


Location of F1–F33.

F – Bacchus with Other Companions

In this type, comprising 33 examples, Bacchus is represented in the company of a miscellaneous assemblage; either with other members of the thiasus (F1–F19), with other divinities (F20–F25), with other mythological figures (F26–F29), or with other various protagonists (F30–F33).

F1
Location: House V 6, 1, in Via delle Nozze d'Argento, in the façade.
Excavation: 1905.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1906, 155–156 (*NSA*); Boyce 1937, 110, no. 6; Schefold 1957, 68; A. de Vos 1991, 1099–1101 (*PPM* 3); Fröhlich 1991, 318–319, no. F34.
Decorative Scheme: On the left pilaster, Mercury and a snake coiled round an omphalos.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two standing figures on a white background. The higher, in the middle, is a youth



F1 Detail from NSA 1906, 155.

leaning on a shoulder of a satyr; he wears a cloak which hangs down from his left arm and covers his thighs; his right arm is stretched down, and he holds a cantharus from which he pours wine into the mouth of a seated panther on his right side, with an artistically folded tail. The smaller satyr has a pine wreath on his head, and holds a thyrsus in his left hand. On the right is a small tree trunk.
Comments: This simple and domestic scene takes place in a natural setting.

F2
Location: Casa dei Dioscuri, VI 9, 6-7, great peristyle 53, east wall.
Excavation: 1828.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H figure ca. 65 cm, all ca. 100 cm.
Bibliography: Bechi 1824 [1828] *MB* 1, tav. 29; Helbig 1868, 100, no. 399; Reinach 1922, 108, no.5; Schefold 1957, 120; Bragantini 1993, 978 (*PPM* 4).
Decorative Scheme: There are many central pictures in the peristyle, e.g. Odysseus and Penelope, Achilles, and also youths and Niobids, and several pictures of Venus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: This painting was probably part of the upper zone intercolumniation, presenting a composition of two figures in front of opened valvae. A satyr sits on a low wall with his back in ¾ profile towards the viewer; he supports his body with his right hand, and the small hairy tail is above the left buttock; his head is in profile, his hair is curly and the pointed ear is clearly visible, and he is looking upwards towards his companion. The youth is standing almost frontally, his weight on his left foot, and lightly resting his right arm on the upper back of the satyr; he wears a cloak hanging down from his left shoulder and elbow, covering his thighs; the raised left hand holds a thyrsus, and his head is slightly bent to the left; his curly hair is decorated with a wreath.

F2 Original drawing G. Marsigli, MB 1, 29.

Comments: The common subject of a half-naked Bacchus leaning on a satyr is presented here in a sophisticated architectural frame, with the seated satyr shown from an exceptional viewpoint.

F3
Location: Casa di Meleagro, VI 9, 2, peristyle 16, north wall, eighth panel from the west.
Excavation: 1829.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 49 cm, W 46 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1864 (PAH 3), 86; Helbig 1868, 100, no. 401: Dionysus and a boy; Roux–Barré 1870, 44–45, no. II 114: with Ampelus; Fiorelli 1875, 131; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 311; Reinach 1922, 108, 4; Warscher 1938, DAIR, *Codex* IX 2 no. 178–179; Schefold 1957, 112; Bragantini 1993, 710–711 (*PPM* 4).

Decorative Scheme: There are several mythological motifs around the peristyle, e.g. Silenus and baby Bacchus, Apollo and Daphne, a cupid and a fighting faun, satyrs and Narcissus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two standing figures. A youth with his weight on his right foot is leaning on an altar or other kind of sculpted stone; he wears a cloak that covers his legs and winds around his back towards the left elbow; his head is in ¾ profile, and his long curly hair decorated with a wreath; in his left hand he holds a thyrsus diagonally; he looks downwards at a small boy, to whom he offers grapes with his right hand. The boy is depicted in ¾ profile with his right side towards the viewer; he wears an exomis over the left shoulder, a cap on his head, and is lifting up both arms to catch the grapes. There may be a window in the background above the youth's head.
Comments: The little boy in the company of Bacchus is robed and wears a cap, which is a rare type of headcover, but used also by Bacchus F5, maenads, and satyrs. The parallels support his identification as a satyr, e.g. as Comus as in D4 above and F4 below. Here he is depicted instead of the more customary panther.

F3 Original drawing N. La Volpe, MB 8, 51.

F4
Location: Casa dei Dioscuri, VI, 9, 6-7, atrium (37), south wall, western end, vignette, MANN 9268.
Excavation: 1828.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 72 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 100, no. 400: Dionysus and a satyr boy; Fiorelli 1875, 135; Schefold 1957, 116; Bragantini 1993, 861, 890–891 (*PPM* 4); Richardson 2000, 109: The Dioscuri Painter.
Decorative Scheme: The central panels depict several gods.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two standing figures and an animal. In the middle a youth stands with his weight on his right foot; he wears sandals and an almost transparent cloak with light greenish edgings, hanging down from his left arm and covering his left thigh; his head is in ¾ profile and decorated with a wreath; in his raised left hand he holds a thyrsus; his

F4 Detail MANN 9268 (2009).

right arm is stretched out, and he holds a cantharus from which a small satyr is drinking. The satyr wears a fur loincloth and is adorned with a pine wreath; he holds the cantharus with both hands above his head. On the left side of the youth stands a panther with both forelegs raised, trying to get the youth's attention by biting the fold of his cloak.
Comments: A simple composition with humour. The satyr boy is drinking with enthusiasm, while the panther calls for Bacchus' attention to take the boy's place.

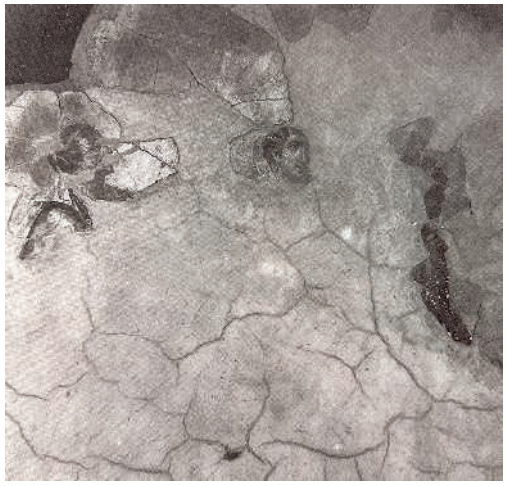
F5
Location: Casa dei Postumii/Casa di Marcus Holconius Rufus, VIII 4, 4, room 5 (cubiculum), north wall, western side, central picture.
Excavation: (1766, 1855,) 1860–1861.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 28 cm, W 30 cm, with frames 34.5 cm and 36 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1861, tav. 4, 6 (*GdSc*); Minervini 1861, 20 and pl. 11, 4 (*BAIt*): Bacchant and a satyr; Helbig 1868, 96, no. 384: Dionysus and a satyr; Breton 1870, 459; Fiorelli 1875, 333; Reinach 1922, 333, no 15; Bragantini 1998, 464–465 (*PPM* 8); Dickmann – Pirson 1998, 418–419; Romizzi 2006, 459, no. 755.
Decorative Scheme: There are several Bacchic paintings with tight compositions in the room, e.g. a maenad holding baby Bacchus with a thyrsus G7.

F5 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A tight composition of two busts on a white background. The youth on the left is presented in ¾ profile, looking at the shorter figure in profile; he wears a tunic leaving his right shoulder bare and a bluish cap on his curly hair; in his right hand he holds a cantharus, in his left hand he seems to carry a thyrsus, visible behind his head. The satyr's head, with curls or possibly also horns, is lifted up, and he looks the youth in the eyes, holding a shorter thyrsus against his left shoulder.
Comments: A young Bacchus offers wine to a satyr. His cap is a rare type of headcover, but also known from other paintings. The central position of the vessel and the wordless interaction between the figures alludes to offering and craving wine.

F6
Location: Casa del Moralista /di C. Arrius Crescens, III 4, 2, upper floor, room 26, south wall, central picture (room above summer triclinium 12).
Excavation: 1916.
Condition: Fragmentary; only the faces and upper bodies are partially preserved.
Measurements: Large, details not known.

Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953, 741, 744, 749–750; Schefold 1957, 58; Bragantini 1991, 431–433 (*PPM* 3); Hodske 2007, 163, no. 112.
Decorative Scheme: In the side field, a smaller central picture depicts a satyr discovering a maenad.
Style and Dating: III, phase II B.
Description: A composition of at least three figures. A youth with curly hair stands in the middle, leaning with his right arm on a shorter male on his right; his fingers touch the darker skin of this male, of whom only a part of the hair, the right shoulder, and the right arm are preserved. On the left stands a robed female figure in profile, watching the two males; her hair is tied with a fillet.
Comments: A tranquil scene with young Bacchus leaning on a satyr, with a maenad observing the scene.



F6 Pompeii, detail from PPM 3, 433.

F7
Location: Casa dei Vettii, VI 15, 1, room *q* (oecus), north wall, upper zone, eastern end.
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of standing figures 60–70 cm, H of the upper zone ca. 170cm.
Bibliography: Mau 1896, 88: Bacchus with a short beard; Sogliano 1898, 323–324 fig. 38, 339 (*MonAnt* 8); Curtius 1929, 145, 147–148: Dionysiac groups, satyr and maenad, drunken Silenus, Dionysus and Pan; Schefold 1957, 148; Peters 1977, 103, pl. 65; Archer 1981, 270–273; Peters 1982, 640–641, 651; *PPP* II, 316–317: no identification of Bacchus; Sampaolo 1994, 542–543 (*PPM* 5): Bacchic figures: satyrs, maenads and Pan.

F7 Detail from Curtius 1929, 145.

Decorative Scheme: The central part of the north wall is destroyed. In the architectural painting of the upper zone there are 12 figures, e.g. Silenus and a hermaphrodite, dancing and playing figures, an old satyr, and a torch bearer. On the east wall is a satyr with a skyphos, and a maenad with a thyrsus. On the wall in the central field, Bacchus and Ariadne as floating figures (D6). In the predella frieze, several cupids engaged in Dionysiac activities.[426]

[426] The most famous part of this reception room is the frieze with cupids and psychae. One part is a thiasus, where a cupid as Bacchus rides a cart pulled by goats. Cf. e.g. Clarke 1991, 215–218.

Style and Dating: IV.[427]
Description: Four figures in an architectural setting against the white background of the upper zone. The composition as a whole remains unclear, due to the destruction of the central part. On the right, a robed youth stands behind slim columns; his right arm is raised and he holds a thyrsus in his hand; the left arm is on his waist; the head is almost in profile and adorned with a wreath, possibly of vine; he looks down at a small faun with horns and hoofs. The faun holds a long torch with both hands and steps forward to the left, while looking back at the youth. In the left framed space, there are two figures seemingly engaged in a separate activity from the former figures. A naked male with his back towards the viewer is reclining on the ground, and against a framed rectangular space, presumably a socle but depicted as transparent; he supports himself with his left arm, and his right arm is raised towards the female, who is intently looking down at him with her right arm lifted; she has a vessel in her hand and pours wine into the mouth of the satyr. The former group is joining the couple.
Comments: This is a night-time event, with the faun lighting the way for the fully robed Bacchus. The idea of the short beard seems not very plausible. The pouring of wine into someone's mouth now takes place between a maenad and a satyr, instead of the customary pairing of Bacchus and a panther or a satyr. The upper zone as a whole is a depiction of a night-time thiasus, with the divinity entering last.

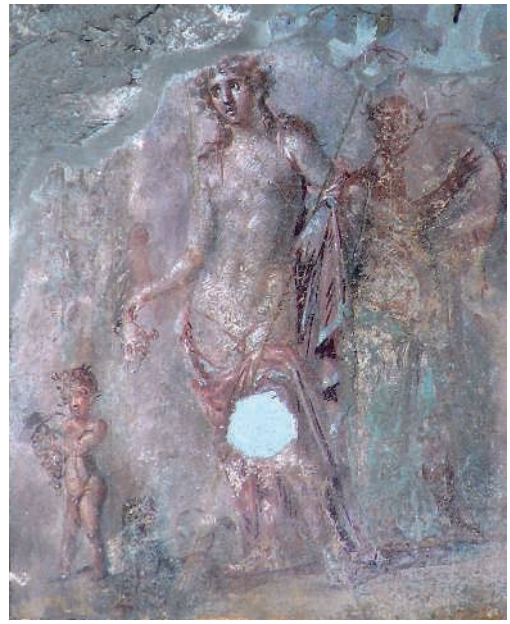
F8
Location: Caupona with thermopolium, V 4, 7, behind the counter, north wall between the doors.
Excavation: 1902.
Condition: Almost destroyed, headless figures when discovered.
Measurements: Not known.

F8 Lantern slide (York and Son, in/before 1890, HEIR Oxford).

[427] For the attribution of the painters and date, see Peters 1977, 103–104.

Bibliography: Paribeni (*NSA*) 1902, 375–377; Schefold 1957, 84: Bacchus and a satyr; *PPP* II, 98. Bragantini 1991, 1055–1057 (*PPM* 3).
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures facing opposite directions on a light background. On the left, a youth stands with his weight on his right foot; he wears a reddish cloak, which hangs down from the left side and covers only the left thigh, revealing his genitals, and high boots; in his right hand he holds an object and leans with his left arm on a shorter Silenus. He wears a cloak that covers the lower part of his body; his skin is darker, and he plays the cithara, holding it with his left hand. Above them grows a vine.
Comments: A young almost naked Bacchus with Silenus playing the cithara is a common motif. The object in the youth's hand may have been a cantharus, and there may have been a panther as well.

F9
Location: Casa della Venere in bikini, I 11, 6-7, room 7 (tablinum), south wall, central picture
Excavation: 1913.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 56 cm, W 50 cm.
Bibliography: Fergola – Parise Badoni 1990, 526 and 550–551 (*PPM* 2); Richardson 2000, 124: Bacchus with a maenad, The Io Painter; Romizzi 2006, 333, no. 116: the player is maenad; Hodske 2007, 161, no. 79: the player is Silenus, the composition is a variant of the discovery of Ariadne.
Decorative Scheme: Other fields depict a cupid and a female head in a medallion.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two adult figures and a child. In the middle stands a youth with his weight on his right foot; he wears a red cloak with blue edgings, covering his thighs and wrapping around to the left elbow; his curly hair with a wreath is parted in the middle and falls to his shoulders; he looks into the distance; in his left arm he holds a thyrsus with ribbons and pine cone on the top, while in the right hand he holds a cantharus, from which he pours wine onto a sitting panther. In front of the youth, to the left, stands a small naked satyr with a pine wreath on his head, holding a bunch of grapes in both hands. Behind the youth, on the right, stands a Silenus wearing a light blue cloak covering his legs; he strikes the tambourine with his right hand, supporting it with his left, against his shoulder.



F9 Pompeii (2014).

Comments: A nonchalant Bacchus accompanied by a musician Silenus and a mini thiasus. The small satyr may be Comus, as above.

F10

Location: Casa del Larario doppio(?), VII 3 east side, possibly 13. According to the drawing of G. Abbate the painting was unearthed in the presence of the duke of Omal, from a house "prima del Quadrivio della Strada del Fortuna".[428]

F10 Drawing G. Abbate (MANN).

Excavation: 1843.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Sampaolo 1995, 259–260 (*PPM Disegnatori*).
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: Probably IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. In the middle stands a youth with his weight on his right foot; he wears sandals and carries a cloak on both arms, covering his left thigh and forming an arch on his calf; his curly hair, tied with loose ribbons, falls to his shoulders; he looks at the figure on his left; in his left arm he holds a thyrsus, in his right hand a cantharus, from which he pours wine onto a sitting panther with its right foreleg raised. On the right stands Silenus with a cloak covering his legs; he is striking the tambourine with his right hand and supports it with his left against the neck. Behind the youth is a column and a wall with a cornice.
Comments: The musical moment is taking place indoors. Bacchus seems to be listening to Silenus, in contrast to the former depiction F9 above.

F11

Location: Casa di Ercole ed Auge, VIII, 3,4, atrium (2).
Excavation: (1816) and 1838.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Possibly H and W of the painting 35 cm.
Bibliography: Schultz 1838, 201(*AdI*); Helbig 1868, 99, no. 395b[429]; Fiorelli 1875, 321; Schefold 1957, 220: second room on the left side of the atrium; Sampaolo 1995, 259–260 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Bragantini 1998, 357 (*PPM* 8); Romizzi 2006, 455, no. 742).

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[428] Abbate's drawing (Napoli ADS 811) gives the following information: "V.B. L'archtitetto Direttore Cav. Pietro Bianchi 8bre 9bre 1843." The eastern side of insula VII 3 was excavated in January–September 1843. Even if other Bacchic paintings are described from this area, these kind of features are not mentioned, e.g. by Avellino 1843, 1-7 (*BAN* 18–19). Helbig 1868, 99, no. 395b, argued erroneously that Abbate's drawing depicted a painting in the house VIII 3, 4. The exact location remains thus unclear.

[429] Helbig's information on the drawing by Abbate is incorrect – it places the painting in another location. *PPM Disegnatori* 260, analysis of the picture 37.

Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. A youth leaning on Silenus playing the lyre. With one hand the youth pours wine from a cantharus onto a standing panther.
Comments: Bacchus is accompanied by Silenus playing a lyre this time, rather than the tympanum as in F10 above.

F12
Location: Pompeii, incorrectly considered to be from the room next to the temple of Apollo. The exact location is unknown, MANN "9269", possibly VIII 3, 2.[430]
Excavation: Not known, because of the incorrect attribution to the temple of Apollo.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 95 cm, W 85 cm.
Bibliography: Ruesch 1908, 343, no. 1445; Herrmann – Bruckmann 1904–1931, 265, Taf. 194: not in Helbig's catalogue, location unknown; Elia 1932, 80–81, no. 177: painting imitates a statuary group; Gasparri 1986, 547 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 70; Sampaolo 1995, 426, 429–430 (*PPM Disegnatori)*; Sampaolo 1997, 303 (*PPM* 7): not from the temple of Apollo.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. In the middle stands a tall youth, leaning with his left arm on Silenus playing a lyre; the youth looks into the distance, and wears a very large cloak which covers both legs and hangs down from the right forearm and the left upper arm; with his right hand he pours wine from a cantharus onto a skinny panther sitting with his back against the others. On the left side of the picture is a cliff with bushes. The painting is framed by an architectural structure, seen in perspective.
Comments: This musical moment takes place outdoors. The young Bacchus looks absorbed in his thoughts, not paying attention to the animal.

F12 Photo from Herrmann – Bruckmann, Taf. 194. There is also a drawing by G. Abbate (MANN, ADS 862).

[430] Also Casa degli Scienziati, VI 14, 43 is suggested in a photograph card in the MANN.

F13

Location: House VII 7, 30 room 9, posticum connected to the temple of Apollo (VII 7, 32), central picture.[431]

Excavation: 1817.

Condition: Destroyed.

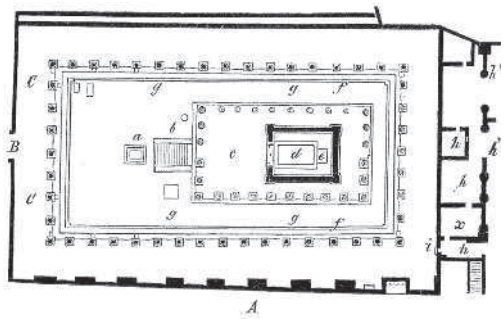
Measurements: H of the painting 61 cm, W 66 cm.

Bibliography: Bechi 1825 *MB* 2, tav. 35; Mazois 4 (1838), pl. 42; Ternite - Müller 1, Heft 3, 14–15, Taf. 4-5; Gell 1852, 155, 157, 165, 205–206: a clearly marked halo in the drawing[432]; Fiorelli *PAH* I 3, 211–212 (Giornale degli Scavi); Helbig 1868, 98–99, no. 395: white nimbus; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 103–104; Schefold 1957, 192; *Pompéi. Travaux*, 144, 149; Bragantini 1995, 113, 115 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Sampaolo 1997, 302–304 (*PPM* 7); Romizzi 2006, 436, no. 654; Berg 2007, 70: possibly a hermaphrodite[433], though commonly considered as Dionysus; Moormann 2011, 71: drunken Dionysus.

Decorative Scheme: In the side fields, medallions, possibly with Bacchic motifs.

Style and Dating: IV.

Description: There are four 19th century versions of this painting, with only minor differences between them. The basic composition is with two persons. An almost naked youth with a cloak around his arms and wearing boots stands in the middle, leaning on the shoulder of Silenus, who plays the lyre; the youth pours wine from a cantharus in his right hand. In the foreground, on the left, sits a panther with left foreleg raised (in three versions, interpreted as a winged cupid in one) drinking the wine. In the background, a landscape with rocks and a vine, on the right side a basket full of fruit and a crater on a short pillar.



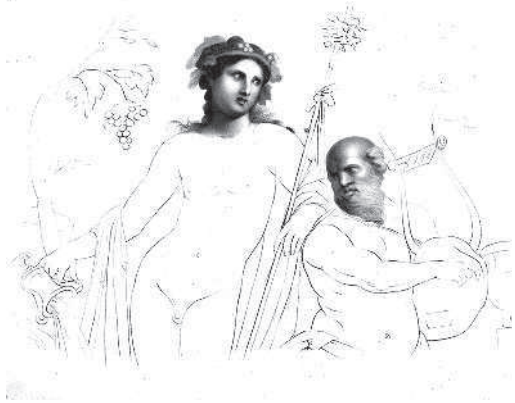
F13 Map from Overbeck – Mau 1884, 96. Room 9 is x on the lower right.

F13 Gell 1852, 165 shows a halo.

[431] Eschebach 1993, 305 identifies the building as a school.

[432] Gell claims that the painting "had been anciently removed from another situation" and neatly fastened. The drawing published by Gell is not as precise as the one by Bechi.

[433] According to Berg 2007, 69–72, Bacchic hermaphrodites are to be found in the following houses: V 1, 26, room *T*; V 4, room 12; VI 7, 18, room 11; VIII 4, 4, room 31; VII 7, 32 (the temple of Apollo, but more likely in 30) and IX 8, 3, room 41; this last mentioned figure carries a torch and a cantharus, and wears a band across the chest in accordance with some Bacchi, e.g. my E1, but the head is not that of Bacchus. Sampaolo 1999, 1040–1041 (*PPM* 9). I disagree with some of Berg's identifications.



F13 Original drawing G. Maldarelli, MB 2, 35. There is no halo, which is more likely correct. *F13 Detail, Ternite - Müller (1), Heft 3, Taf. 4.*

Comments: Another musical moment out in nature. The variation comes from the outfit of young Bacchus, and the panther is analogically the most probable figure in the left corner, although some early drawings sketch other animals or even a cupid in its place. This room may have been used by the priests or custodians of the temple. – It cannot be without significance that this painting was placed in the side chamber of the temple of Apollo. The relationship between the two gods was known of old: there were temples dedicated to both divinities in Delphi and in the deme of Icaria in Attica,[434] and they also shared a connection to the theatre.[435] In Pompeii, in the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto (V 4), the attributes of the two divinities – holding in one hand a drinking horn, a cup, or tambourine, and on the other a lyre, tripod, or swans – may have been expressions of the different sides of the same divine impulse.[436] – About a half of the 19th century publishers included a halo for Bacchus.[437] Halo as a mark of distinction became more common for Bacchus in the second century AD.[438] The remarkable headgear

[434] C.D. Buck 1889, 'Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikaria, 1888', *AJA* 5 (1889), 174–176.

[435] Moltesen 2002, 148, the statue of Omphalos Apollo in the theatre of Dionysus in Athens.

[436] Among others Clarke 1991, 157–158 explores the relationship between Apollo and Bacchus.

[437] Another suggested case with a halo is the main figure on the southern wall of the room *h* in the House I 3, 25. It has been identified as Dionysus with a nimbus only by the posture, which is the same as that of Bacchus pouring wine from a cantharus to a panther, alas without the animal or the vessel. More probable identifications are Hesperus or Helios/Sol. Identified as Dionysus or Apollo by Moormann 1988. 142; Hesperus by Schefold 1957, 13 and Schefold 1962, 126; Helios by Fiorelli 1875, 58 and Sogliano 1879, 154, no. 455; Bacchus by Lorenz 2008, 526.

[438] N. Cecconi, 'Dioniso e la corona di luce. Iconografia e immaginario della figura di Dioniso nimbato',

of cultic male dancers, a basket crown (kalathos), in the cult of the Apollon Karneios, [439] can easily be mixed with a sun-ray crown.

F14

Location: Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto, V 4, a.11, room 12 (triclinium) opening to a peristyle, east wall, southern side, central picture.
Excavation: 1899.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 34 cm, W 32 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1901 *NSA*, 164, 166: Dionysus, cubiculum *s*; Mau 1901, 353 *MDAI(R)* 16: Bacchus und Silen; Schefold 1957, 86: Bacchus; *PPP* II: hermaphrodite; M. de Vos 1991, 1025 (*PPM* 3): hermaphrodite; Peters – Moormann 1993, 350: Dionysus; Romizzi 2006, 359, no. 247: both identifications, more likely Dionysus; Hodske 2007, 161, no. 170: Dionysus; Berg 2007, 70: hermaphrodite.
Decorative Scheme: Other central pictures depict Pyramus and Thisbe, possibly a fishing Venus and Polyphemus receiving a letter from Galatea.

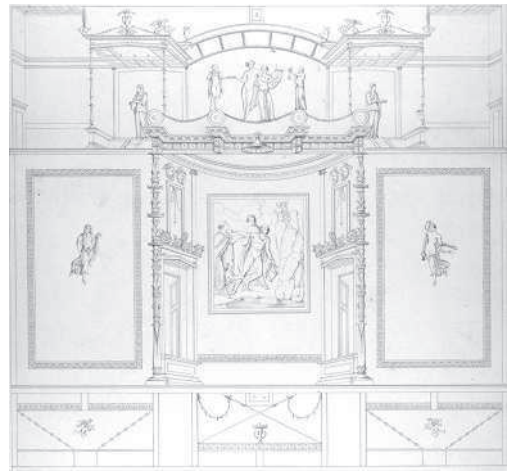
F14 The torch indicates more likely a hermaphrodite. Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two standing figures on yellowish terrain against a simple architectural background. An effeminate youth with fair complexion stands frontally, with his weight on his right foot; in his right hand he holds a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves and a torch-like decoration on the top; he leans on a somewhat shorter Silenus with his left elbow, holding in his left hand a cantharus; he holds a yellow cloak in his arms, appearing otherwise naked; his dark curly hair falls to his shoulders. Silenus wears yellow shoes and a red cloak with a blue lining, tucked up as a belt; his upper body is turned to the left, towards his lyre, which he plays with both hands, while looking at the youth. At the back, a bluish wall with a green cornice and a red column, just behind the youth.
Comments: Though the pose is customary to practically naked Bacchus leaning on a playing Silenus, the figure would possible be a hermaphrodite, not Bacchus. This painting had a parallel in room t of the House of Caecilius Iucundus (published e.g. in Karivieri 2014, 99, 102). The torch-like thyrsus would be a rarity to Bacchus. It is more common for hermaphrodites and divinites of light.

[439] Trendall 1989, 22, fig. 23.

F15

Location: Casa delle Forme di Creta, VII 4, 62, room 7 (triclinium), north wall, upper zone.
Excavation: 1832.
Condition: Destroyed, right side already earlier.[440]
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 189: a thiasus; Schefold 1962, Taf. 117,1; Staub Gierow 1997, 151–152 (*PPM* 7): Dionysus with a satyr; *PPM Disegnatori*, 368; Staub Gierow 2000 (*HiP* 10), 100–101, figs. 350–351: Dionysus supported by Silenus.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture below depicts Hylas and nymphs (MANN 8882), in the side fields are floating figures.
Style and Dating: IV, probably after AD 62.



F15 Bacchus and his companions stand in the middle of the upper zone. Drawing G. Abbate (MANN).

Description: The main composition is of four persons inside a complex architectural setting, an arched pergola with pavilion wings. The figures stand on a garland, which is supported by round discs over the aedicula of the central zone. On the left, an almost naked satyr standing on the disc wears a cloak on his back and plays the syrinx. To his right, the tallest figure, an almost naked youth with a cloak on his left side and an ivy wreath on his head, leans on a second satyr with his left arm; his right hand extends towards the first satyr; there seems to be something in his hand. The satyr by the youth's side plays the lyre, and wears a cloak down from the hips. On the right stands an older satyr, Silenus, on the disc, facing the others and playing crotales.[441] The figures on both sides of the main composition stand inside the pavilions; the one on the left side carries a hydria, the other on the right a patera.
Comments: A young almost naked Bacchus now leans on a young satyr, elsewhere the player is an old satyr, Silenus. The event on the top of the garland is also unusual for a thiasus.

F16

Location: Probably Pompeii, but possibly Herculaneum, MANN 9274.
Excavation: Probably 1749.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 101–109 cm, W 69–77 cm.
Bibliography: *PAH* I, 9 (29.3.1749): bacanal; Quaranta 1835, tav. 22 (*MB* 11): Bacchus with Silenus and two other figures, Herculaneum; Helbig 1868, no. 397: Dionysus, Silenus, satyr, bacchante; Ruesch 1908, 316, no. 1332; Reinach 1922, 108, no. 8; Elia 1932, 52 no. 79; Gasparri 1986,

[440] In a photo, DAI Rome 56.1221, the maenad on the right is destroyed.

[441] Staub Gierow 2000, 101: tympanum. I do see the crotales in the drawing, but Silenus is cut off from the old photo presented by Staub Gierow.

547 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 71; Grasso 2009, 432–433, no. 255 (*Pittura pompeiana*): Dionysus and maenad; Hodske 2007, 161, no. 847; Griesi 2011, 244 and 256, no. 38: Dionysus, maenad, satyr, Silenus, Herculaneum. His reference to Ruggiero 1881, does not fit to pages of *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano*.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A very tight composition of four persons. The tallest, in the middle, is a youth wearing a blue cloak with red edgings; it covers his legs from mid-thighs downwards, and goes round his back up to his left elbow; he carries a thyrsus in his left arm, and in his right hand a rhyton, from which he pours wine – in theory to the ground, but in practice into the right hand of a satyr, who stands behind the youth with his muscular right leg visible; he holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand, and looks up towards the youth; the top of a pedum appears by the youth's elbow, assumedly held in the satyr's left hand. In the foreground on the left stands a mangy panther with a wreath round its body, lapping up the wine from the ground. On the youth's left side stands a short jovial Silenus, playing the lyre with his left hand and holding the instrument with his right. Behind him stands a tall maenad in a red robe, looking intensively at the youth. The composition is framed by wine leaves.

F16 MANN 9274 (2009) originates either from Pompeii or Herculaneum, but the earliest notification is most probably from Pompeii.

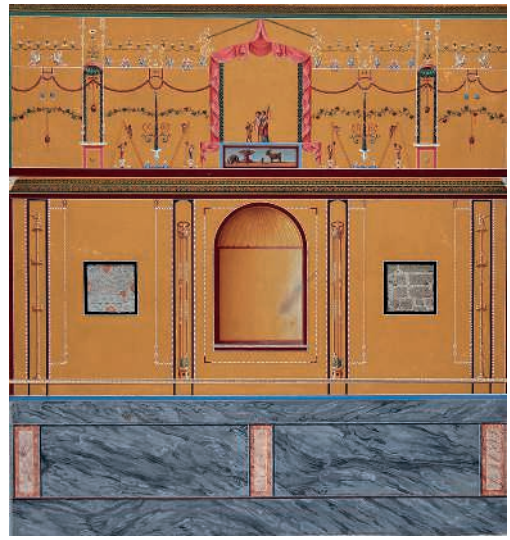
Comments: A somewhat effeminate and naked Bacchus; the rhyton is a less customary attribute. The panther is also unusual both in his appearance and by the way he is lapping his wine up from the ground. The composition is full of small anomalies.

F17
Location: Casa di M. Spurius Mesor, VII 3, 29, room *p* (ala), one of three central pictures.
Excavation: 1868.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 30–31 cm, W 36 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 97, no. 386: Dionysus, satyr and Silenus; Fiorelli 1875, 207; Schefold 1957, 178; Sampaolo 1995, 723 (*PPM Disegnatori*); (*PPM* VI) 940–941; Romizzi 2006, 422–423, no. 586.
Decorative Scheme: The other central pictures depict a satyr with a maenad, and Hercules with Omphale, all with special gestures.

F17 Drawing N. La Volpe (MANN).

Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of three busts, heads slightly turned to their left. The one in the middle is an effeminate youth wearing a chlamys, which forms an arch on his naked chest; his long and curly hair is tied with a taenia, which he touches with the delicate fingers of his right hand. On the youth's left stands a sprightly, bearded satyr with a pine wreath on his head. On the right side stands Silenus with a ribbon and leaves at his temples. All three are intensively looking to their left.
Comments: The effeminate Bacchus had, according to Helbig, a thyrsus across his chest, while La Volpe depicted him with the arching sleeve of a cloak and a leather band. This gesture by Bacchus appears every now and then in Pompeian wall paintings, notwithstanding the posture of his bodily frame.

F18
Location: Pompeii, Casa della Regina Carolina VIII 3, 14, room 11, south wall.
Excavation: Before 1838.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: *Ornati*, tav. 63, after F. Morelli's drawing ; Schefold 1957, 221; Bragantini – de Vos 1981, 186–187 (Pompei 1748–1980).
Decorative Scheme: On both sides, cupids harvesting with ladders, garlands, masks, and birds.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of three figures inside a draped frame, standing on a podium decorated with a still life with a goat, a jug, a stemmed large bowl with fruit, and a capsa with writing equipment. On the left, a small faun with hoofs tries to catch a bunch of grapes held by the almost naked youth in the middle. On his back he wears a cloak reaching down to his knees. Partly overlapping him is a robed female figure on his left, seen in side view; in her left hand she holds a thyrsus with long ribbons.



F18 Drawing F. Morelli in 1806 (MANN).

Comments: A naked young Bacchus holding grapes in his right hand appears from time to time in Pompeian wall paintings. Here, they are linked to the activity performed by the cupids. The scene imitates a theatre, and the goat in the socle is one the characteristic animals of Bacchus.

F19
Location: Villa dei Misteri, room 4, east wall of the alcove, in the middle of the central zone.
Excavation: 1909.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H ca. 58 cm.

Bibliography: De Petra 1910, 142–143: (NSA) gruppo del giovane Dionyso in piedi e di un Satiro (tav. 6: Bacco e Satiro); Maiuri 1947, 58–59, 178–186; Schröder 1989, 176–177, no. Y1; Scatozza Höricht 2001–2002, 24; Wyler 2008, 452–455; Scapini 2016, 198–199.
Decorative Scheme: The walls have a typical decorative structure, where there are pictures in the central zone and in the upper zone. Above this group, there is a scene in front of a Priapic herm, where a pig is lead to be sacrificed by a cupid and a satyr with a torch. On the other walls there are a drunken Silenus supported by a satyr, a youth aposkopos, two maenads, a priestess and a dancing satyr in the central zone, and another sacrifice scene in the upper zone.
Style and Dating: II, first century BC.
Description: A composition of two figures on a red background. On the left is a standing naked youth with his legs crossed; his left hand is lifted up and rests on his head; on top of his long brown hair is a leafy wreath; he looks to the distance on his left, while supporting himself with his robed left arm around a considerably smaller figure, Silenus, that reaches up to his armpit. He is looking upwards towards the youth, and desperately trying to keep him standing, with his arms around the youth's waist. Silenus is wearing a pardalis from the waist down; he has dishevelled hair and longish beard.

F19 Detail from Maiuri 1947, 183.

Comments: This is a unique subject, a drunken and totally naked standing Bacchus, obviously exhausted after his drinking ordeal. The gesture of his right hand is also seen in in the reclining figure in the room next door of the villa (D15), and several others. The pardalis of his helper is painted with extreme care; overall the picture is of high quality.

F20
Location: Complesso dei Riti magici, II 1, 12, used by the cult community of Sabazius; in the façade, south of the gate. Now removed.
Excavation: 1915.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 80 cm, W 66 cm.
Bibliography: Jashemski 1979, 135; Turcan 1989, 318; M. de Vos 1991, 19–21 (*PPM* 3); Fröhlich 1991, 312, no. F16; Charles-Laforge 2006, 165–166, Moormann 2011, 183–184.
Decorative Scheme: North of the entrance is Venus with a cupid and a dolphin, on the doorposts Priapus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two standing figures on a white background, both turning a little to their right. On the left stands a youth holding a purse (Fröhlich: a patera with liquid running out) in his right hand with a down-stretched arm, and a caduceus in his left. On the right side,

F21 All deities of the lararium painting. Pompeii (2014).

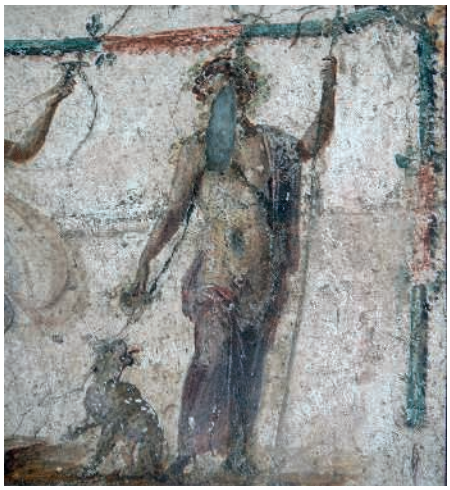
and further towards the front, stands a youth whose posture is almost the same; he wears a red cloak hanging over his left arm, which also supports a thyrsus; in his right hand he has a cantharus, from which he pours wine; on his head is a leafy wreath. The figures are framed with a garland.
Comments: A half-naked young Bacchus and Mercury are often represented together, the purse being, in addition to the caduceus, a characteristic attribute of Mercury. The cult of Sabazius may have been of importance to many gladiators from Thrace, and of a private nature, associated with Bacchus in the same way as Egyptian Thot was with Mercury.

F21
Location: Thermopolium, I 8, 8, painting at the end of the bar counter.
Excavation: 1912.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 120 cm, W 160 cm, H of the weight background 42 cm, W 122 cm.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 37; Sampaolo 1990, 802, 805 (*PPM* 1); Fröhlich 1991, 252–253, no. L8.
Decorative Scheme: No other figurative paintings.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian). The scene was painted over the previous one, which was probably destroyed by the earthquake.

F21 Bar counter in the thermopolium. Pompeii (2014).

Description: A composition of five figures on a white background, on the front wall of a lararium. On the left stands a youth looking away; he wears a short tunic, a petasus hanging on his back, and holds a purse in his right and a caduceus in his left hand. Next to him stands a lar wearing a short tunic with purple clavi, holding in his

raised right hand a cornucopia and a small situla in the left. In the middle stands an offering genius by a tripodal altar. On his left stands another lar, also with a cornucopia and a situla. On the far right stands a youth with his weight on his right foot, wearing a red cloak which covers his left shoulder and both legs; probably there is a band across his chest from the right shoulder; on his head is a leafy wreath; he holds a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves on top in his raised left arm; in his down-stretched right hand he holds a cantharus, from which he pours wine on a panther. The panther sits with his back to the youth, his head turned towards him, and right foreleg raised. The figures are framed by a garland. Below the white field, two slithering snakes are positioned antithetically by an altar on a red background.



F21 Detail, Bacchus with a panther. Pompeii (2013).

Comments: With the usual retinue of the lararia, a young half-naked Bacchus is depicted in one of his typical activities, offering wine to a panther, quite suitably for the nature of the thermopolium. Mercury is commonly represented in the company of Bacchus, in this case is the furthest figure. Together they represent commerce and wine.

F22

Location: House north of the House of Iulius Polybius (IX 13, 3), kitchen, lararium. Partly unexcavated.

Excavation: 1975–1976.

Condition: Not known.

Measurements: Not known.

Bibliography: Cerulli Irelli 1976, 241; Fröhlich 1991, 298–299, no. L110; Bragantini 2003, 356 (*PPM* 10).

Decorative Scheme: Not known.

Style and Dating: IV.

F22 Drawing M. Oliva (GFN).

Description: A composition of nine figures on a white background. Two huge slithering snakes divide the picture into two parts. In the lower part are seven figures on a hill, and two disproportionately small palm trees in front: on the left there is a couple by a harvested field: a male in a short tunic holding a sickle in his left hand, and a female in a long robe with her arms lifted up, who seems to be dancing. In the middle there is a group of three robed figures, the first holding a cantharus, the second capite velato a cornucopia, and the third a rhyton. In the right corner there are two figures: the first is an effeminate and wreathed youth standing frontally with his weight on his right foot; his cloak covers his legs and shoulders, and he holds a jug in his right hand; in his

raised left arm he supports a thyrsus with a pine cone on top. On the right stands a youth wearing winged boots and a short tunic; his head is depicted in profile to the left; he holds a large purse in his right hand and a caduceus in his left. Between the snakes' heads is a niche decorated with garlands, with a lamp inside. Above, on both sides, are lares with cornucopiae and small situlae.
Comments: In this lararium a young Bacchus is depicted in the company of Mercury, as a couple. The corresponding couple on the left may represent the family. The jug is a rare vessel for Bacchus – the drawing by Oliva is perhaps not quite accurate. Palm trees are rarely seen in Pompeian lararia, and usually the snakes are slithering amongst leafy bushes.

F23
Location: Popina, taberna lusoria aleariorum, VI 14, 28, linked with Casa di Laocoonte, room opening to the street, north wall, eastern side field, near the entrance.
Excavation: 1875.
Condition: Damaged, details vanished and only preparatory lines exist. The building was bombed 16.9.1943.
Measurements: H of the figures ca. 40 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1875, 146, 173 (*GdSc N.S.* 3:25); Sogliano 1879, 95, no. 39; Warscher *Codex* VI 14 no. 57 (1935 DAIR); Schefold 1957, 134; Bianchi Bandinelli 1969 , 221, fig. 249; *PPP* II, 288; Schröder 1989, 145 no. M1; Bragantini 1994, 341–342, 346–347 (*PPM* 5). García y García 2006, 90–91. – Drawing by G. Discanno (DAIR 83.109).

F23 Drawing G. Discanno (DAIR).

Decorative Scheme: The central picture of the same north wall depicts a fishing Venus. Other paintings in the room present two small boys or satyrs and a dog playing with a bunch of grapes on the west wall, and Polyphemus receiving Galatea's letter from a cupid riding a dolphin on the south wall. In the opposite place on the north wall is a floating figure.
Style and Dating: IV; Schefold: Vespasian.
Description: A composition of two almost frontal figures. On the left stands a youth with his weight on his right foot, leaning idly on a low pillar with his left arm holding a thyrsus; he has green boots and wears a violet cloak falling from the pillar over his left thigh to the ground; his right arm is resting on his head, which is in ¾ profile, and his long curls are adorned with a vine wreath; he is looking at his companion. On his right stands the other youth with his weight on his right foot; he wears reddish boots and a green short cloak, and points towards his companion with both his hands, one holding a purse, the other a caduceus; his head is almost in profile, and he looks at his hands; his hair is curly, and he wears a petasus with wings.
Comments: This is the usual couple of a half-naked young Bacchus and Mercury, decorating the right side wall of a taberna, which is clearly visible from the street through a wide opening. The gesture of Bacchus with his hand resting on top of his head is known from both standing and

reclining figures in Pompeii, and also from statues, e.g. of the Apollon Lykeios-type, identified as Bacchus.[442] The paintings of this taberna were of good quality, and also numerous. It was a place for games, of apparently above average quality, and seemingly enjoyed unprogrammatic decoration with some Bacchic features.

F24
Location: House with a pistrinum, VII 1, 36.37, room on the west side of the atrium, lararium of the bakery.
Excavation: 1862.
Condition: Destroyed, damaged when discovered.
Measurements: H of the painting 116 cm, W 258 cm.
Bibliography: Jordan 1862, 315-316 (*AdI)*: togatus and a naked wreathed youth with a thyrsus; Helbig 1868, 21–22, no. 66b: Vesta and Bacchus; Breton 1870, 425: Bacchus with his four followers; Boyce 1937, 60–61, no. 240; Schefold 1957, 166; Gasparri 1986, 548 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 98; Fröhlich 1991, 39, 130 and 150.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: Probably IV.
Description: A composition of four human figures with animals. In the middle stands a figure wearing a white robe in front of an altar, holding a sceptre in the left hand and a patera in the right. Behind him is either a donkey or an ox. On the left stands a youth wearing a red undulating chlamys over his shoulder and an ivy wreath on his head; he holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand and a thyrsus in his left. Lares are situated on both sides, and below are two snakes.
Comments: In this lararium scene, the identification of the middle figure depends on the identification of the animal: if it is a donkey, then the white robed figure is female, Vesta. There is no problem in identifying the youth as an almost-naked Bacchus.

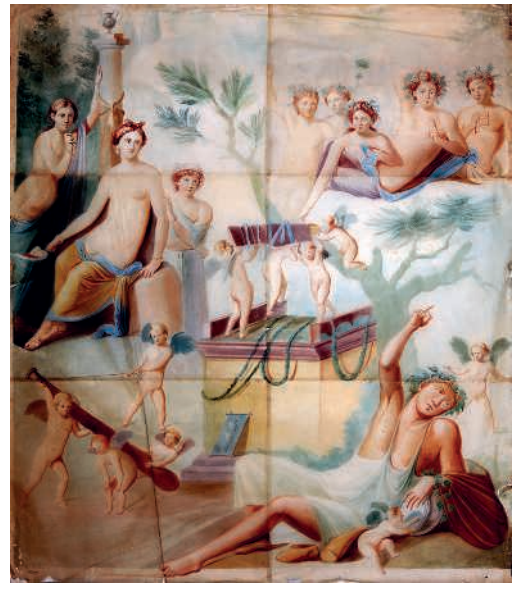
F25
Location: Casa d'Ercole, VI 7, 6, north wall of triclinium behind the atrium.
Excavation: 1835.
Condition: Destroyed in the 19th century.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Schultz 1838, 179 (*AdI*); Helbig 1868, 31, no. 104; Schefold 1957, 99; Bragantini 1993, 382 (*PPM* 4); Bragantini 1995, 273 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Romizzi 2006, 370, no. 303.
Decorative Scheme: Hercules and Omphale on the east wall, otherwise muses, and snakes coiling candelabra.
Style and Dating: IV, (Vespasian).
Description: A composition of three larger frontal figures, whose heads were damaged when found. On the left stands a female figure with her weight on her right

F25 Drawing G. Abbate (MANN).

[442] J.-L. Martinez 2009, 86–87, *D'Izmir à Smyrne. Découverte d'une cité antique*, Paris 2009.

foot, wearing sandals and a cloak covering her body except her shoulders; her right hand is bent to her hip, and with her left arm she leans on the back of the throne, with somewhat bent legs. On her right shoulder is a winged cupid, looking towards the centre. On the throne sits a male wearing a cloak that covers his hips and legs; he has sandals on his feet; his right hand holds the sleeve of his cloak, and with his raised left arm he holds a stick, possibly a sceptre. Next to his right foot stands an eagle. On the right side stands a youth with his weight on his right foot; he wears a cloak hanging down from his left arm and covering his legs; around his neck is tied a garment, probably a nebris or pardalis, with a knot on his chest; in his right hand he holds a cup, from which he pours wine onto a panther sitting in front of him, his left foreleg raised; the panther is in profile with his back to the youth, but his head is turned towards the youth and the cup.
Comments: This wall painting illustrates a rare combination of Venus, Jupiter, and Bacchus, all with their characteristic companions or attributes. Bacchus is the only one with bare feet. The remaining paintings of this triclinium do not provide any insight into this painting.

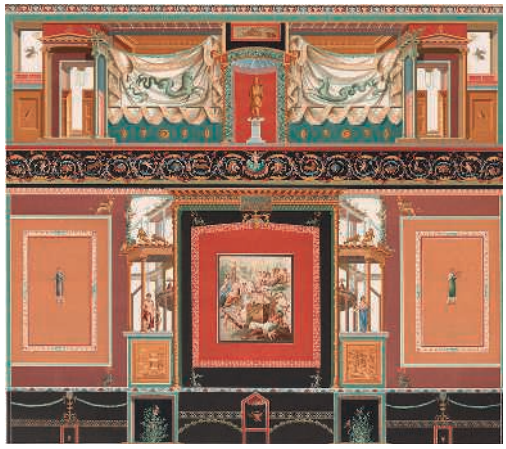
F26
Location: Casa di Sirico, VII 1, 25.46.47, room (exedra) northwest of the atrium, north wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1851–1852.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 126 cm, W 106 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1862, 14–16 (*GdS*): as a secondary motif, a votive tablet depicting Bacchus in front of the altar; Helbig 1868, 231, no. 1139; Schefold 1957, 164: no mention of Bacchus, only Hercules with Omphale; Michel 1982, 560–562, 588; Blanc – Gury 1986, 1028 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido no. 616; Sampaolo 1995, 560–561 (*PPM Disegnatori*); Bragantini 1996, 255–257, 266 (*PPM* 6); Coralini 2001, 53, 100–102; Romizzi 2006, 544, no. 544; Hodske 2007, 172, no. 413.
Decorative Scheme: The other central pictures depict Thetis and Hephaestus, and Apollo and Poseidon near the walls of Troy.
Style and Dating: IV.



F26 Drawing A. Ala (MANN).

Description: A composition of 19 figures divided into several scenes around a central altar. In the foreground, on the right, is a semi-recumbent half-naked male supporting himself with his left arm; his right arm is raised above his head and he points upwards with his forefinger; his head is bent backwards. In the left corner, four small cupids are carrying a club; on the right, one of the cupids is helping the male and another stands behind him. On top of the altar stand three more cupids carrying a quiver, while a fourth cupid helps them, crouching from a small nearly barren pine tree. Behind, on the left, sits an almost naked female by a column with a vessel on top, looking at the scene on her right; two

companions stand by her shoulders. On the right in the background is a group of five figures on a cliff, behind the small tree. The central one reclines almost in the same position as the one in the foreground, his right hand bent and touching his head; he wears a cloak that covers only his legs, and an ivy wreath on his head. Behind his legs stand three figures, a satyr with his right arm raised and two maenads, the one behind carrying a thyrsus. Behind the semi-recumbent male's left shoulder stands a satyr wearing a pine wreath.



F26 Original drawing V. Loria (Dipinti murali scelti di Pompei).

Comments: The figure in the foreground is a drunken Hercules, iconographically not dissimilar to the bronze statue of a drunken satyr with a wineskin and snapping fingers from the Villa dei Papiri (MANN 5628). In front of the column is Omphale with her attendants, and in the background on the right is Bacchus with his thiasus. This group is an addition to the type where onlookers of Hercules are mainly women. An almost naked young Bacchus has his right hand in a typical position over his head. In the current state of preservation the small votive tablet leaning on the altar is illegible, and thus Fiorelli's account of the secondary motif remains unproven. It is a tempting idea to emphasize the cult of Bacchus in miniature form, with the divinity himself as one of the onlookers.

F27

Location: House with an officina olearia, VII 4, 25, room 2 (atrium), east wall, central picture.

Excavation: 1868.

Condition: Partially preserved when discovered, now destroyed.

Measurements: H of the painting 140 cm.

Bibliography: Brizio 1868, 31–39 (*GdS NS* 1,2): youth with an ivy wreath; Helbig 1868, 232, no. 1141: probably Dionysus; Sampaolo 1996, 991 (*PPM* 6); Coralini 2001, 201–202, no. P.084: certamen bibendi, a unique painting influenced by theatre; Romizzi 2006, 424, no. 592; Hodske 2007, 165, no. 416.

Decorative Scheme: Not known.

Style and Dating: IV.

F27 Drawing Reinach 116, 1 (RP 1922).

Description: The painting is reddish all over. In the foreground, a composition of five main figures with more behind. On the left, a satyr stands with his weight on his right foot, turned towards the centre of the picture; he wears a pardalis tied over his left shoulder, and points with his right hand towards the male figure in the middle. Close by the satyr stands Silenus, who looks in the same direction, while urinating towards the male in

the middle and directing the stream with his right hand; on his bent-upwards left arm he has a cloak, and a club on his shoulder. The next figure is a robed female who holds the unfortunate male in the middle by the hand, as he is about to fall on his knees; he wears a hide on his back. Farther behind, between Silenus and the female, stands a youth with a cloak on his right arm and left shoulder; otherwise he is naked except for the wreath on his head; in his right arm he holds a thyrsus, and a cantharus in his raised left hand. In the background is a wall of a house with an open door, through which a group of people is entering; in the left upper corner is a piece of baldachin.

Comments: A young Bacchus is presented in the company of a drunken Hercules in the process of falling down; the thiasus is also slightly tipsy, with Silenus carrying the club of Hercules. Bacchus holding the cantharus from the bottom is a rare detail; his larger size and position above the other figures affirm his identity as Bacchus, supervising the scene.

F28

Location: Casa di Marcus Gavius Rufus, VII 2, 16–17, room *u* (cubiculum), north wall, central picture.

Excavation: 1867.

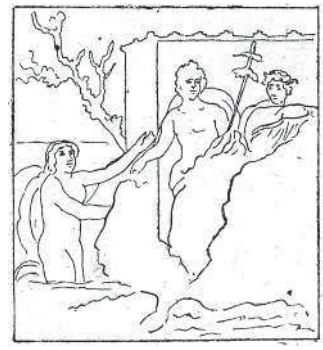
Condition: Destroyed.

Measurements: H of the painting 44 cm, W 44 cm.

Bibliography: Matz 1869, 53–55 (*AZ)*; Sogliano 1879, no. 165; Reinach 1922, 110, no. 4; Warscher 1936 *Codex* VII 2 no. 33a (DAIR); Schefold 1957, 170; Gasparri 1986, 557 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 557; Sampaolo 1996, 575 (*PPM* 6); Romizzi 2006, 417, no. 566; Hodske 2007, 164–165, no. 433.

Decorative Scheme: Not known.

Style and Dating: IV.



F28 Drawing Reinach 110, 4 (RP 1922).

Description: A composition of three figures. On the left, an almost naked female figure with a short cloak on her back is depicted in ¾ profile; she rises from the sea, with both arms raised towards the youth in the middle. He is about to step into the water, and his body is depicted frontally while he is looking back; he wears a billowing cloak hanging from his waist and covering his back; his right hand touches the left arm of the female in the water; in his left arm he holds a thyrsus with a double ornament on top; on his head is a wreath. On the right stands another female, robed and wreathed, her right arm bent over her chest. In the background there is a wall with a tile roof, and an almost leafless tree on the left. The horizontal line is in the middle of the picture field.

Comments: This is a half-naked young Bacchus persecuted by Lycurgus, fleeing into the sea and to the safety of Thetis. The billowing cloak is also sometimes depicted in paintings of the discovery of Ariadne and meeting other humans. The gestures here are noteworthy for expressing feelings: Thetis anxious, Bacchus calm and having almost reached safety, as the touching arms indicate; the maenad is trying to protect herself, while checking on the progress of the other two. Most probably there were more figures in the destroyed part.

F29
Location: Casa della Regina Margherita, V 2, 1, *r* (triclinium) opening to a long tablinum, west wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1883.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 85 cm, W 80 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1883, 287 (*NSA*); Mau 1885, 166 (*BdI*); Schefold 1957, 70; *PPP* II, 57; Sampaolo 1991, 774, 796 (*PPM* 3).
Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the south wall depicts a sleeping Ariadne with a figure, possibly Bacchus E15; on the east wall is Narcissus. In the upper zone, Bacchus C7.
Style and Dating: Probably IV.
Description: An angry-looking figure with a panther.
Comments: The angry person is probably Lycurgus, while next to the panther there may have been a young Bacchus. There are many other Bacchic themes in the same room.

F30
Location: House VII 4, 22 or Villa di Cicerone, MANN 9050.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 48 cm, W 48 cm.
Bibliography: Bechi 1827, *MB* 3, tav. 4: Bacco inventore della Commedia; Roux – Barré 2, 201–203, pl. 66; Helbig 1868, 102, no. 408; Reinach 1922, 314, no. 3; Elia 1932, 86, no. 206; Schefold 1957, 335; Gasparri 1986, 548 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 84; Richardson 2000, 113: The Dioscuri Painter.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A composition of 13 figures, depicted either frontally, sideways, or in ¾ profile. In front, on the left, stands a robed youth holding in his raised right hand the beard of a mask, and in his left a long pedum, pointed downwards. He is assisted by two figures: on the left a female figure kneels down, wearing a robe leaving her right shoulder bare; on the right, a naked youth is bending down to tie the standing youth's right sandal. Behind these figures stand two others: a veiled female and a youth behind her, both looking at the mask. In the middle stands the tallest figure, a half-naked youth in ¾ profile to the left, and head to the right; he wears a cloak around his hips and left shoulder; on his head is an ivy wreath; his long curly hair falls down on his right shoulder; he holds a mask in his raised right hand. Next to him is Silenus with only his head, right shoulder, and arm visible, depicted in profile peeking at the mask. On the right are six other figures: a female in the front wears a cloak leaving her shoulders

F30 Original drawing R. d'Auria, MB 3, 4.

bare, leaning with her left hand on a low structure made of cut stone, a bearded and bald old man, a child next to another female, and two more females in a doorway by a pilaster on the right. The wall in the background has two openings (a door and a frame?).

F30 Detail, MANN 9050 (2010).

Comments: This is a theatrical scene, with three different events presented as a compact composition. The tallest figure in the middle is Bacchus, the inventor and protector of theatre, accompanied by the faithful Silenus. On the left, an actor is preparing for his role, assisted with his outfit by two other figures; perhaps he is seeking inspiration from the mask, which is also touched by the divinity. On the right, perhaps spectators, a heterogeneous lot. This could be a rare depiction of Bacchus inside a theatre, with an altar in front of the picture field. Though there are many theatrical wall paintings in Pompeii, they present other kinds of Bacchic themes, e.g. in the house of Marcus Lucretius (IX 3, 5) and in the house of Menander (I 10, 4).

F31

Location: Casa di Marcus Lucretius, IX 3, 5.24, room 16 (triclinium) southeast of the atrium, north wall, central picture.

Excavation: 1846–1847.

Condition: Almost destroyed.

Measurements: H of the painting 187 cm, W 156 cm.

Bibliography: Raoul-Rochette 1852, 296: the Indian triumph of Bacchus; Falkener 1852, 60–62: triumph of Bacchus; Minervini 1865, tav. 23 (*MB* 15): Bacchus; Helbig 1868, 127, no. 565: a female figure, though aware of Minervini's identification as Bacchus; Fiorelli 1875, 392; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 318: not Bacchus; Herrmann – Bruckmann I, 80: Dionysus erecting a tropaeum; Reinach 1922, 149, no. 1; Lehmann-Hartleben 1941, 43; Schefold 1957, 249; Thompson 1960, 114–115, 222; Baldwin 1996, 52–53: older adolescent Bacchus;[443] Bragantini 1999, 261–264 (*PPM* 9): triumph of Dionysus; Richardson 2000, 89: The Achilles Painter; Romizzi 2006, 479, no. 877; Hodske 2007, 164, no. 691: Dionysus erecting a tropaeum; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 92, 95.

Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the east wall depicts Hercules and Omphale, on the south wall the triumph of the infant Bacchus G11. All the smaller pictures depict banqueting scenes (e.g. A9).

Style and Dating: IV.

Description: A composition of five figures. On the left, a satyr with nebris stands with his back to the viewer, a pine wreath on his head, and holding a thyrsus. Next to him stands a tall figure, a fully robed (a long chiton, a cloak, possibly a nebris) youth wearing sandals; his weight is on

[443] Baldwin makes a common mistake in calling this house Casa di Marcus Lucretius Fronto, and writing that the painting was removed to Naples.

F31 Pompeii (EPUH); Original drawing G. Abbate, MB 15, 32.

his left foot, and he is depicted in ¾ profile except for his chest, which is in full profile; in his outstretched right arm he holds a shield; on his head is an ivy wreath. In the foreground, in the right corner, an almost naked youth wearing a cloak loosely round his neck sits on a shield; his hands are tied behind his back, and he looks away from the other figures. Behind him stand two female figures; the one in the middle wears only a cloak hanging down from her waist and an ivy wreath on her head; with her upwards stretched arm she supports a shield, on which a winged female figure, with her hair tied in a knot, writes with a stylus; she steadies the shield with her left hand. Furthest in the background is a tropaeum with a cuirass, a sword, a helmet, and a shield, with more arms on the ground. The sky above is light blue.
Comments: A somewhat effeminate fully robed young Bacchus is depicted with one of his companions, a captive, and Victory with a female assistant. The scene is perhaps to be linked to the Indian triumph, to a moment of calmness when the accomplishments of the divinity are being inscribed and he is examining the spoils.

F32
Location: Casa degli Epigrammi, V 1, 18, room y (exedra) north of the peristyle, east wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1875–1876, room of the epigrams probably in January 1876.
Condition: Partly damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 91 cm, W 69.5 cm.
Bibliography: Dilthey 1876, 311–313 (*AdI*): Effeminate Bacchus, with a similar statue found in Herculaneum (MANN 9276), a drinking contest in the Anthesteria festival in Athens; Fiorelli 1876, 15 (*NSA*): Bacchus; Mau 1877, 95 (*BdI*) Bacchus and adorants; Sogliano 1879, 131, no. 241:

cult of Dionysus; Mau 1882, Taf. 5; Schefold 1957, 65: Bacchus; Beyen 1960, 206: Dionysos, with males making offerings; Moormann 1988, 17, 163, no. 185/2: Ariadne; M. de Vos 1991, 570–572 (*PPM* 3): Dionysus; Strocka 1995, 284–287: Bacchus with horns in reclining position with cantharus and panther; Caso 2006, 29–38 (*RSP* 17): Dionysus Zagreus with horns in Anthesteria.

Decorative Scheme: There are large figures on both sides of the painting: a psyche playing the cithara on the left, and a priestess on the right. On the west wall the central picture depicts Venus looking at a faun and a cupid wrestling. On the north wall there are three framed scenes: male figures offering their nets to Pan, Homer with fishermen, and the sacrifice of two rams to Bacchus, one of which is chewing vine. Indicative names and epigrams in Greek were both painted on the walls.

Style and Dating: II, phase II A, ca. 40–30 BC.

Description: A composition of three (or four) figures. In the left corner, a naked male carries a sack or a wineskin in his left hand. In the middle stands a wreathed Silenus with several wineskins on the ground. (There may have been a third figure between these two.) The red pedestal with white details is decorated with garlands; on top of the pedestal, on a bench covered with a cloth and a thick pillow, reclines an effeminate youth; his body is golden yellow with reddish shades and white reflections; his right arm is raised on top of his head, turned left, wreathed and with two small horns; he holds a cantharus in his hand, in his left arm he has a thyrsus pointed downwards and a tympanum; he wears a thin cloak, which covers his legs, and a nebris tied over his left shoulder. Behind his knees peeks a panther, standing with left foreleg raised. Trees are painted across the background.

F32 Detail, Pompeii (2012); Mau 1908, Taf. 13.

Comments: Bacchus is depicted as a gilded bronze statue. The effeminate features and small breasts are typical for a young Bacchus with horns, but the tympanum as his personal attribute is rare. The reference to the Anthesteria is theoretical, with wine skins as the only references, nor does the pictorial programme with its plethora of paintings in the room support this interpretation, as the paintings are rather linked to Bacchus and Venus.

F33
Location: House with officina lanifricaria, VII 3, 25 precise location of the painting unknown.
Excavation: 1843 or 1868.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1879, 132–133, no. 246; Rostowzew 1911, 45, fig. 25; Schefold 1957, 177; Moormann 1988, 194, no. 240: yellow statue of Dionysus of a rare type, similar to Cybele; Sampaolo 1996, 900–901 (*PPM* 6); Megow 1997, *LIMC* 8:1, 1033, s.v. Priapos.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: III (possibly Tiberian).
Description: A landscape with a shrine and three figures. In the foreground, on the left, is an arching, stepped bridge, on which a youth is sitting; he wears sandals, a short cloak, and a brimmed hat. Across the river is an ithyphallic statue on top of a stone. On the other side of the bridge there are two figures: a small robed boy holds a cantharus in his right hand; a taller robed figure holds in her left hand a thyrsus with decorations on both ends, and a jug in her right hand. In the middle, on a hillock, is a sanctuary with four columns and pavilion with the roof decorated with vessels. A votive tablet, thyrsi, and simple staffs lean on the podium. On a separate column stands a krater-type vessel. The intercolumnia are decorated with garlands; inside is a statue of a sitting partially robed youth holding a thyrsus in his raised right hand. In the background there are hills, cliffs, trees, and a herm on the left side mound. There are three goats grazing on the right.
Comments: This is a sacral landscape with a cult image depicting Bacchus, as attested by the various thyrsi, cantharus, and kraters, and the offering followers: a maenad and a small satyr (Comus?). The herms, the one in front Priapic, also suit his cult quite well. Customarily for sacral landscapes, the shrine is depicted next to a leafy tree.

F33 Drawing L. Schulz (DAIR).

In more than half of the entries (F1–F19) of this heterogeneous type, Bacchus is depicted in small groups with male, female, and animal companions. Iconographically, these wall paintings are less ambitious than the former type with females. Bacchus is most often represented as half-naked and standing, engaged in various overlapping activities: giving a drink to a panther or to a satyr boy, leaning on a companion, listening attentively or nonchalantly to the music, or showing different levels of interest in the activity at hand. The events can take place either indoors or out in the nature. Young Bacchus leaning on a playing Silenus is a common subject. The composition is mostly Bacchus himself, but a hermaphrodite is also possible. This is a probable situation in F14.

The 'Sternenstreit' (VI 7, 23). Drawing M. Mastracchio (MANN).

Depictions of the young Bacchus in the company of other divinities (F20–F25) are less numerous, but the theme could be painted in a variety of spaces, such as lararia, and as central pictures or as façades. Mercury is understandably the favourite companion of Bacchus, as many of the places in question dealt with food, drink, or trade. The dispute between the gods of light, i.e. the *Sternenstreit*, is a topic connected to the halo of Pompeian Bacchus and the identification of young male divinities depicted together. The identification of Bacchus in these scenes is without grounds in my opinion, although several scholars considered one of the divinities to be Bacchus.[444] I base my opinion on four examples: three from Pompeii (VI 7, 23, Casa di Apollo; VII 2, 16–17, Casa di Gavio Rufo, MANN 9449; and VII 16, 22, Casa di Fabio Rufo) and one from Herculaneum (MANN 9239), in which the divinities in question are rather Apollo, Sol, and Hesperus, with Venus as a secondary figure.[445] Even if one of the figures does resemble Bacchus, he does not carry any of his proper attributes, such as a thyrsus, a panther, grapes, or a drinking vessel, the indentification is not plausible without the attributes.

[444] Bechi 1834, *MB* 14, tav. 21, identified the most important figure as Bacchus, referring to the late building date, when the cult of Bacchus was especially favoured. The identification as Bacchus by e.g. Helbig 1868, 97, no. 388, Fiorelli 1875, 117 and Reinach 1922, 107, no. 21, 2, with doubt. For more examples, e.g. Schefold 1957, 103, 170. According to the Orphic theories, Liber is equal to the Sun, and the torch could be carried by both as an attribute. Elia 1962, 120–121, 123–124.

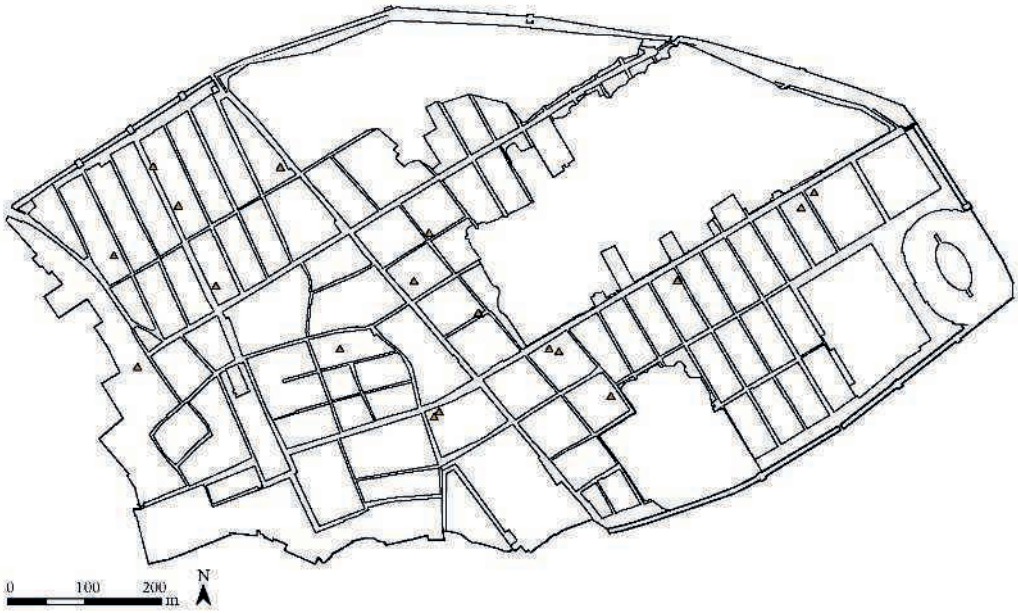
[445] On alternative interpretations of MANN 9449, Gasparri 1986, 550 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 120; Sampaolo 1996, 564–565 (*PPM* 6); Grasso 2009, 364–365 *Pittura pompeiana,* no. 170, calls indeed the wall painting still as a "Stibadio dionisiaco", but leaves the identification open. I see no clearly identifiable panther; the animal is white and rather similar to a lamb. It has been identified as a griffin by the feet of Apollo, Hodske 2007, 235–236, no. 428.

Another less numerous group of paintings (F26–F29) is exceptionally interesting, and it is a great pity that one of them (F29) is not preserved. They are remarkable in both their subjects and compositions, and the companions are both more commonly depicted figures and rarer ones, such as Lycurgus (even if no longer being visible). The painting in House IX 5, 18–21 is said to have depicted Bacchus and Pentheus, the Theban king adverse to the cult of Bacchus, but is preserved only in fragments and is now damaged.[446]

Bacchus and Pentheus' (IX 5, 18-21). Drawing A. Sikkard (DAIR).

The last less numerous group (F30–F33) depicts a typical young Bacchus, but in diverse and somewhat unusual situations: in the company of mortals such as actors, a captive, or his own worshippers, alongside a statue of the divinity himself. These paintings are indications of the artist's ambitious ability and/or the client's taste, and often appear to have a narrative behind them, even if we do not know the specifics.

[446] Schefold identified the figure in the middle as a potential Pentheus, however the interpretation remains very uncertain. The painting in the Casa di Iasone, room *f* (oecus/triclinium), north wall, is H 135 cm, W 62 cm. There are three persons depicted in a portico, a youth with darker skin stands with his back to the viewer; his only attribute is a wreath on his head. In the middle of the composition sits a figure making a rejecting gesture, while a third draped figure on the left looks at the others. Sampaolo does not accept Schefold's identification, and according to Romizzi there are no iconographic parallels. Sogliano/Fiorelli 1878, 265 (*NSA*); Sogliano 1879, 243, no. 843; Mau 1880, 81–82 (*BdI*); Schefold 1957, 263; Schefold 1962, 91, pl. 53; *PPP* III, 487; Sampaolo 1999, 690–691 (*PPM* 9); Romizzi 2006, 486; Hodske 2007, 274, no. 194, 1–2. The darker skin of the young figure "Bacchus" would be a very unusual way of depicting of him.



Location of G1–G20.

CHILD BACCHUS

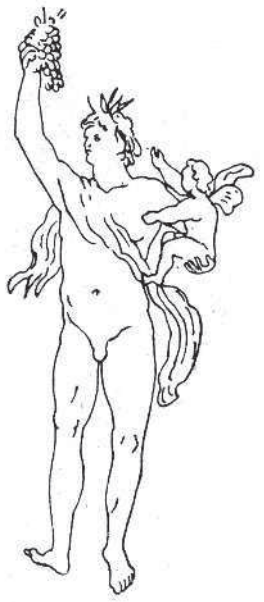
G – Child Bacchus

These images of Bacchus as a child may be categorized in two groups by age. As an infant – from the Latin infor*, not yet speaking – and as a somewhat more grown child standing on his own feet, but not yet in his teens. In the following 21 entries, Bacchus is represented either as alone or accompanied by a selection of human figures or animals.

There are three basic types in the infant group: the adult figure in the first type takes its inspiration from the Praxitelian Hermes (G1–G6); the second type depicts infant Bacchus being held in someone's arms or lap, or on the shoulders of an adult (G7–G13); and in the third type (G14) he lies on the ground. In the child group (G15–G21), Bacchus is accompanied by one or two persons, either female or male (G15–G18), or is riding a panther, or driving a chariot pulled by panthers (G19–G21).

G1
Location: Casa di Sallustio, VI 2, 4, north wall of peristyle 31, next to the small garden in the south side of the house.
Excavation: 1805–1809.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure 23 cm.
Bibliography: Breton 1855, 212–213: figures of fauns and bacchants; Helbig 1868, 94, no. 373:

Bacchus boy and a satyr; Fiorelli 1875, 88; Furtwängler 1880, 121, pl. 3, no. 6: Dionysus with wings; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 306; Klein 1910, 127: free imitation of Praxitelian Hermes; Reinach 1922, 122, no. 12: satyr holding cupid depicted with wings; Schefold 1957, 93: satyr and infant Bacchus; Moormann 1988, 169, no. 198b/2: a satyr (Praxitelian Hermes).
Decorative Scheme: In the peristyle, Bacchic figures. The central picture at the end of the garden depicts Diana and Actaeon.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian, with features of the III style).
Description: A composition of two figures against a black background. A standing floating figure adorned with a pine wreath wears a cloak or a nebris over his right shoulder falling to his left hip; he holds a bunch of grapes in his raised right hand, and carries an infant in his left arm and cupped hand. The infant with wings tries to reach the grapes.
Comments: The overall iconographic scheme references the Praxitelian marble Hermes in Olympia, holding a bunch of grapes above infant Bacchus. The adult's headgear suggests a satyr. The little wings of the infant would identify him rather as a cupid, but due to the many parallels, below, he is considered here to be Bacchus. The wings were depicted by Furtwängler, who claimed that the wings were an error by the painter, copied by Reinach.



G1 Drawing Reinach 122, 12 (RP 1922).

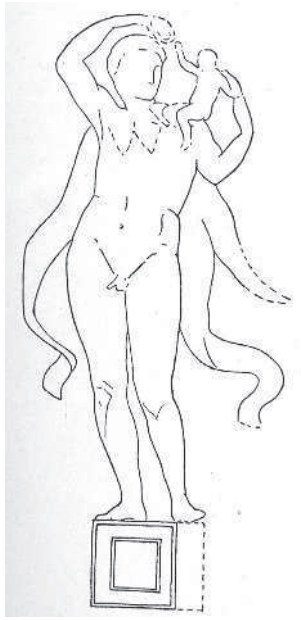
G2
Location: Casa del Naviglio, VI 10, 11, room *c* south (triclinium) of the peristyle, west wall, upper zone.
Excavation: 1824–1830.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure ca. 63 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1879, 118, no. 154; Klein 1910, 127; Reinach 1922, 97, 4; Warsher 1948 *Marmi di Pompei* 6 no. 52a; Schefold 1957, 125; Schefold 1962, 125, pl. 94:2; Moormann 1988, 34, 181, no. 207/2: nude satyr with infant Dionysus; Sampaolo 1993 *PPM* IV, 1090, 1092.
Decorative Scheme: Floating Bacchic figures.
Style and Dating: IV (Neronian).
Description: A composition of two figures. A slender satyr wearing a reddish cloak over his left arm and a pardalis on his right shoulder stands with his weight on his right foot; he has a pine wreath on his head, slightly turned to the left; he holds a bunch of grapes in his raised right hand and carries an infant in his left arm and cupped hand. The infant tries to reach the grapes with his hands, while stretching his left foot towards the satyr. Behind them, above the satyr's head, hangs an undulating vine with another bunch of grapes. The figures are represented on a large ped-

G2 Drawing Reinach 97, 4 (RP 1922).

estal and placed inside a simple architectural frame.
Comments: Similar to G1 above, but the infant is depicted without wings, identifying him without a doubt as Bacchus. The vine above is a similar feature to some depictions of the young Bacchus.

G3 Fragment Pompeii inv. 20543.

G3
Location: Casa degli Amorini Dorati, VI 16, 7.38, room *g* (exedra) east of the peristyle, fragment from the upper zone. All upper zones are damaged making the original place impossible to identify. P 20534.
Excavation: 1903–1905.
Condition: Damaged, restored with modern cement.
Measurements: H of the fragment 69 cm, W 39 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano 1908, 33 (*NSA*); Schefold 1957, 155; Schefold 1962, 125; Moormann 1988, 186, no. 220/1: a satyr with infant Dionysus; Seiler 1992, 35, and fig. 198 and 200 (*HiP* 5); Seiler 1994, 715, 787–788 (*PPM* 5).
Decorative Scheme: There are several mythological paintings centrally located e.g. Iason, Thetis, Achilles.
Style and Dating: Originally early III, restored after AD 62.
Description: A composition of two figures in an architectural setting against a light background. A young almost naked muscular satyr with spiky dark hair stands on a pedestal; he has a yellow cloak over his left arm, and an upright pedum in his hand; the light comes from the right of the picture, which puts the satyr's right side in shadow; with his raised right hand he holds fast a naked infant, who is sitting astride his right shoulder. The infant's small hand, with fingers spread apart, is visible above the satyr's hand; his skin is lighter than the satyr's, even pinkish, and the hair is fair. Above the satyr's head is a dark violet candelabrum.
Comments: This is another iconographical variant of the Praxitelian type, the raised arms of both figures replacing the grapes, and with a different placement of the infant. The architectural background is exceptional, but related to the previous G2 with its framed composition and the candelabrum at the back of the male making up part of the architectural structure.[447]



G4 Drawing H.D. Mirick, Van Buren 1932, pl. 11,2.

G4
Location: Casa di Iasone, IX 5, 18, room *f* (oecus/triclinium) west of a peristyle, west wall, upper zone, central panel. P 17718.
Excavation: 1878.

[447] Cf. e.g. the architectural structure in the Villa Imperiale, east wall in room *c*, Moormann 1988, 223, fig. 305/3.

Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the figure 41 cm.
Bibliography: Sogliano/Fiorelli 1878, 265 (*NSA*); Sogliano 1879, 117, no. 153: satyr with pine wreath and boy Dionysus; Mau 1880, 84 (*BdI*); van Buren 1932, 38-40, 696; Schefold 1957, 263; Bastet – De Vos 1979, 49–51; Moormann 1988, 216–217, no. 288: a satyr with infant Dionysus.
Decorative Scheme: The framed picture is divided into two halves by a column; the other half on the right depicts two female busts, the one in front as reading a book. The central zones had large mythological pictures, below Iason and Pelias, and in the north wall a fragmentary painting of three naked men.[448] Side fields with isolated figures.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of two figures against a white background. A young satyr stands on a quadrangular white pedestal with an undulating cloak on his back; his right arm is raised above his head and his raised left hand supports the naked infant sitting on his left shoulder. The infant stretches his right hand towards the right hand of the male.
Comments: This is another reminiscence of the Praxitelian Hermes, and a mirror image of the previous G3. The pedestal also indicates that this depiction is of a painted statue. Even if the grapes are no longer visible, the act is the same as in the previous examples. The painting is on the back wall of a large oecus/triclinium, the wall first seen when entering the room. The females are presented as realistic portraits, in contrast to the often-repeated statuary style in Pompeii. This is an odd combination, and I wonder if it is a religious statement.

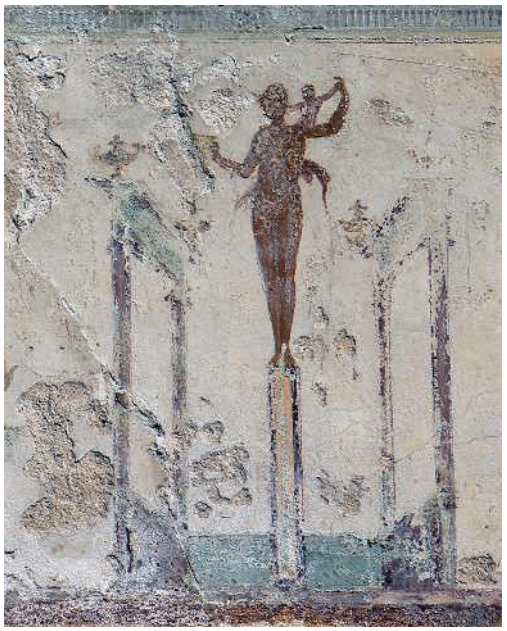
G5
Location: Casa della Venere in conchiglie, II 3, 3, room 4 (cubiculum) southeast of atrium, south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1933–1935.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H of the painting 44 cm, W 44 cm.
Bibliography: Della Corte *NSA* 1936, 323; A. De Vos, 1991, 119, 121, 124 (*PPM* 3); Hermes and Dionysus; Romizzi 2006, 340, no. 152; Hodske 2007, Tabelle 1, no. 101; Anguissola 2010, 372 Mercury and Bacchus – she links the infant with motherhood and the picture of a young bride around the corner.
Decorative Scheme: Cupids as floating figures and several busts as medallions.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures against a light blue background, with red frames. A male bust, raising his right arm to

G5 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

[448] Schefold 1962, 91, pl. 53, "Pentheus Dionysos abweisend". Cf. Sogliano 1879, 243, no. 843 and Zevi 1964, 37. As there are no distinctive attributes, I see them as unidentifiable.

the top of his head, carries an infant on his left shoulder and holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand. The chubby infant sits astride with his back turned to the male, and his legs hanging straight down. Both have remains of darkish hair and are facing the viewer.
Comments: Similar to the previous G4, except for the posture of Bacchus turning away from the adult, interpreted as Mercury rather than a satyr due to his curly hair lacking any features typical of satyrs.

G6
Location: Villa Imperiale, VIII 1,a, porticus *c*, east wall, architectural aedicula in the upper zone.
Excavation: 1947.
Condition: Partially damaged, e.g. right hand of the satyr.
Measurements: H ca. 38 cm.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 291: satyr with child Bacchus; Moormann 1988, 223–224, no. 305/3:4: satyr with Eros.
Decorative Scheme: In the socle there are cupids and centaurs; in the black central zone sacral landscapes and medallions and a marine frieze; in the upper zone, in architectural settings, many mythological figures: one is Apollo, another a possibly standing young Bacchus, several satyrs, and various mythical animals.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: A naked young and tanned satyr against a white background, posed frontally, is standing on a very high and narrow pedestal; both legs are held tightly together due to the very limited space; he is holding a syrinx in his right hand and an infant on his left shoulder. The infant's complexion is lighter, and he is sitting astride in a ¾ pose; his right hand is stretched towards the satyr's head and his raised left hand touches the satyr's left hand. On both sides there are two columns sharing a podium, on top of the entablatures are vases; garlands above, fastened to high columns further away.



G6 Pompeii (2012).

Comments: Another variation of the Praxitelian infant Bacchus. The composition varies to some extent from the other Pompeian examples above, with the protagonists' left hands joined together, and the infant is not being teased with a bunch of grapes, and the architectural structure is more elaborate, similar to a sacred double gate.

G7
Location: Casa dei Postumii/Casa di Marcus Holconius Rufus, VIII 4, 4, room 5 (cubiculum), north wall, east end, central picture.
Excavation: (1766, 1855), 1860–1861.
Condition: Damaged.

Measurements: H of the painting 28 cm, W 30 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1861, 20 (*GdSc*): Ariadne and boy Iacchus; Helbig 1868, 94, no. 372: bacchant and boy Dionysus; Reinach 1922, 33, no. 16: bacchant and Dionysus child; Sampaolo 1995, 692 (*PPM Disegnatori*): maenad and baby Dionysus (La Volpe: bacchant and small faun); Dickmann 1998, 465 (*PPM* 8): maenad and baby Dionysus; Dickmann – Pirson 1998, 418–419, Taf. 84; Anguissola 2010, 372, 373, fig. 202: infant Dionysus in the arms of a maenad, considered as an example of an intimate picture referring to motherhood and life, with an infant in a cubiculum.
Decorative Scheme: Several Bacchic paintings in the room, e.g. a young half-naked Bacchus offering wine to a satyr F5.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. A robed female holds a naked reclining infant in her right hand; she wears a green chiton, a red cloak, and an ivy wreath on her head; she looks at the child. The naked infant carries in his right hand a small thyrsus with a bunch of leaves on top; his right leg comes out from the frame.
Comments: A maenad holding the infant Bacchus.

G7 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

G8
Location: Casa del Balcone pensile, VII 12, 28, room *k* (triclinium).
Excavation: 1863.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 28 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 94, no. 374: boy Dionysus; Fiorelli 1875, 292; Bragantini 1997, 609 (*PPM* 6); Romizzi 2006, 444, no. 685.
Decorative Scheme: Other central pictures depict cupids being sold, Diana and Callisto, and Admetus with Alcestis.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. Silenus, adorned with an ivy wreath, reclines on the grass, holding an infant in his lap and right arm. Beside him is a thyrsus and a cantharus.
Comments: Silenus and the infant Bacchus are depicted in a rare pose.

G9
Location: Casa dei Postumii/Casa di Marcus Holconius Rufus, VIII 4, 4, atrium, north wall,
Excavation: 1860–1861.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the picture 34 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1861, 15 (*GdSc*): Silenus and boy Bacchus; Helbig 1868, 94, no. 375: boy

Dionysus; Dickmann 1998, 460–461 (*PPM* 8).
Decorative Scheme: There is a mask depicting Oceanus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. Silenus, wearing an ivy wreath, reclines on the ground, holding an infant tightly on his lap, a thyrsus beside him. The infant tries to escape.
Comments: Silenus and the infant Bacchus are depicted in this rare pose, similar to the previous G8, but here with a more active infant, not wanting to be held anymore.

G10
Location: Casa di Meleagro, VI 9, 2, peristyle 16, west wall, one of the central pictures.
Excavation: 1829–1830.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 48 cm, W 46 cm.
Bibliography: Quaranta 1834, (*MB* 10), tav. 25; Helbig 1868, no. 377; Fiorelli 1875, 130; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 311; Reinach1922, 105,4; Warsher 1938 *CTP* IX 2 no. 184 (DAI); Schefold 1957, 112; Bragantini 1993, 716–717 (*PPM* IV); Hodske 2007, 165, no. 259.
Decorative Scheme: There are several paintings in the peristyle e.g. Hymenaeus, Silenus looking at a fighting faun and cupid, Thetis, Apollo, an abandoned Ariadne, and Venus.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of three figures. On the left stands a half-naked female, leaning with her left arm on a sitting Silenus; her green cloak leaves her chest and stomach bare; in her raised right hand she holds a bunch of grapes. Old Silenus is wearing a red cloak on his legs and holds an infant high in the air. The naked infant tries to catch the grapes above him. On the right side is a small draped male statue on a pedestal decorated with green bands; he holds his cloak with both hands and wears a wreath on his head.

G10 Original drawing N. La Volpe, MB 10, 25.

Comments: Silenus playing with the infant Bacchus. The headless female on the left is a maenad, who participates in the action by dangling the grapes. The statue probably depicts Priapus. A parallel motif with more figures was found in Herculaneum (MANN 9270). That painting is also larger.[449]

[449] Griesi 2011, 247, 255, no. 36. In a rocky landscape there are more nymphs, a faun, Mercury, a donkey, and a panther. – Richardson 2000, 117–118, 121: The Infancy of Bacchus Painter.

G11

Location: Casa di Marcus Lucretius, IX 3, 5, room 16 (triclinium), southeast of atrium, opening also to the garden, central picture on the south wall, MANN 9285.

Excavation: 1846–1847.

Condition: Good.

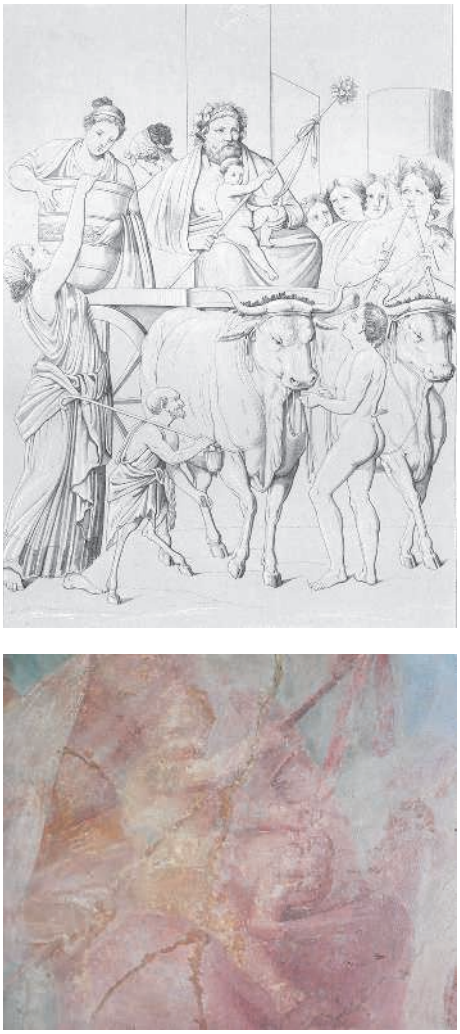
Measurements: H of the painting 188 cm, W 158 cm.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847, 134–135 (*BdI*): education of Bacchus; Falkener 1855, 60: triumph of Bacchus in India; Welcker 1861, 205–209: Silenus with child Bacchus; Helbig 1868, 95–96, no. 379; Ruesch 1908, 311, no. 1317; Reinach 1922, 106, 3; Rizzo 1929, 43; Curtius 1929, 296–300; Elia 1932, 44, no. 55; Lehmann-Hartleben 1941, 43; Bruhl 1953, 148[450]; Schefold 1957, 249: triumph of Bacchus; Thompson 1960, 114–115, 221; Gasparri 1986, 554 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 177; Bragantini 1990, 276–277 (*PPM* 9); Richardson 2000, 89: The Achilles Painter; Romizzi 2006, 479, no. 877; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 92, 94; Scapini 2016, 184.

Decorative Scheme: The central picture of the east wall depicts Hercules visiting Omphale, and on the north wall Bacchus is setting up a tropaeum F31. All the pictures in the side fields depict banquets.

Style and Dating: IV (after AD 62).

Description: A composition of 11 figures and a chariot drawn by two oxen. A clothed Silenus sits on the chariot with a naked infant on his lap. The infant holds a thyrsus with a ribbon and a bunch of leaves on top in his raised right hand, while holding with his left hand the lower end of the ribbon. Two clothed female figures are also on the chariot; the one on the left lifts a large jar, the other behind Silenus is looking away. In the foreground on the left stands a robed female in profile, helping to lift the jar with both of her raised hands; in front of her walks a faun with hoofs, carrying a pedum on his right shoulder. In between the oxen in the foreground stands a naked youth, probably a satyr, in profile. In the background on the right are more members of the thiasus. The first is a satyr wearing a nebris and a pine wreath, and playing the aulos. Behind him stand three figures with only their heads visible.



G11 Original drawing G. Abbate, Niccolini (1) 1854, Casa di Marco Lucrezio, tav. 2. MANN 9285 (EPUH).

[450] He gives the place incorrectly as the House of Lucretius Fronto.

Comments: The infant Bacchus is depicted as the central figure in a triumphal chariot, surrounded by his thiasus. The oxen are his animals as well.

G12
Location: Pompeii, MANN 9281.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: D 21 cm; H of the painting 39 cm, W 29 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 93–94, no. 370; Elia 1932, 111, no. 305: a Roman family; Schefold 1957, 342; Herbig 1962, 12–13, plate 18, Richardson 2000, 144: tondo of busts of couple with infant Bacchus, The Iphigenia Painter.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Style and Dating: Vespasian.
Description: A medallion against grey background. Two busts and an infant.
Comments: A maenad and a satyr with infant Bacchus. If an ordinary family portrait is painted like this, there is bound to be a religious meaning.

G12 MANN 9281 (2017).

G13
Location: Praedia Iuliae Felicis, II, 4,3 atrium 24 or courtyard 31. MANN 9275.
Excavation: 1755–1757.
Condition: Good.
Measurements: H of the painting 25 cm, W 84 cm.
Bibliography: Weber's map (1757) no. 24, no. 31; Reinach 1922, 117, no. 6: bearded Bacchus statue with offerings; Spinazzola 1953:1, 292–293: Silenus and the head of Dionysus, a crater, polishing tools and a beater on a bench; Sampaolo 1991, 212–213 (*PPM* 3): statue of a philosopher.
Decorative Scheme: Three isolated scenes with respective solitary figures on a dark background. The one on the left depicts a sphinx with a fountain, the one in the middle a beard-

G13 Detail MANN 9275.

ed herm[451] with a fountain, a hoop, and a column drum with possibly a thyrsus.
Style and Dating: IV, after 62 AD.
Description: A statue of a fully robed male stands on a pedestal behind of a table. He is depicted in ¾ profile to his left; his head is adorned with a wreath; his arms are inside the himation and he holds tight an infant. The infant peeks morosely out of the drapery; he may be wreathed, his head is only half visible. The table is cartibulum-like, with lateral supports ending in animal feet in front; on top of it there is a leafy branch and two unidentified objects crossing each other. By the table on the right side there is a column-crater and a short thyrsus.
Comments: In Pompeii this is a unique depiction of an infant Bacchus held by Silenus inside his cloak, by an offering scene. Elsewhere, in an early Apulian volute-crater ca. 400 BC, infant Bacchus is shown concealed in the thigh of Jupiter surrounded by Mercury and the Nymphs.[452] Spinazzola's idea of polishing tools on a bench, with more tools in the adjacent picture with the column drum being a roller, is not plausible. The leafy branch could be a stem of giant fennel (narthex), as is seen in South Italian vases,[453] and the other objects on the offering table are probably firewood.

G14
Location: Casa di Titus Dentatius Panthera, IX 2, 16, room *b* (cubiculum), east wall, frieze.
Excavation: 1867.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 18 cm, W 64 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 324, no. 1401b, 2; Schefold 1957, 242: Child Bacchus with nymphs; Sampaolo 1999, 8–9 (*PPM* 9).
Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the east wall depicts Theseus abandoning Ariadne. The frieze has several paintings with mythological subjects.
Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of three figures. On the left sits a female watching a reclining child in the middle. He is naked and raises his right hand. On the right is another robed female.
Comments: A small Bacchus is depicted with nymphs. The actual subject is uncertain, due to the scarce information available.

G15
Location: Casa dei Dioscuri, VI 9, 6-7, room 44 (cubiculum), south wall, central picture.
Excavation: 1826.
Condition: Damaged, the incised lines are still clearly visible.
Measurements: H of the painting 45 cm, W 42 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868, 95, no. 378; Warscher 1941 *CTP* VI 9, 6 nos. 626, 627, after 630, 635 (DAI); Richardson 1955, 38–39; Schefold 1957, 119; Bragantini 1993, 934–935 (*PPM* IV); Richardson 2000, 143: The Iphigenia Painter; Romizzi 2006, 384, no. 397; Hodske 2007, 165, 291.
Decorative Scheme: Other central pictures depict Apollo and Daphne on the west wall, and pos-

[451] Reinach 1922, 117, no. 7: bearded Dionysus with offerings.

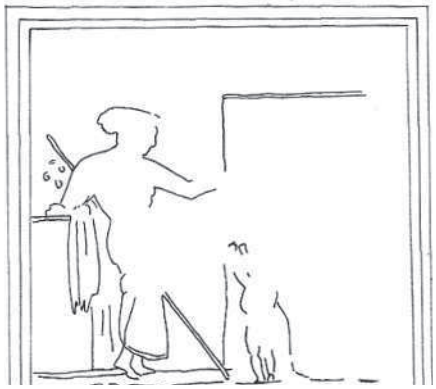
[452] Trendall 1989, 27, 256, fig. 49.

[453] Trendall 1989, 21–22, fig. 23 (Lucania), 76, fig. 114 (Apulia).

sibly Adonis on the north wall.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of three figures. On the left Silenus, depicted in profile sitting on a rectangular stone bench; he holds a bunch of grapes in his raised left hand. In the middle stands a child trying to catch the grapes with raised hands. On the right stands a robed female figure leaning on a pillar.
Comments: Another playful scene, the teasing of the standing Bacchus as he is watched over by the third protagonist, a maenad. This is a variant of G10, with infant Bacchus in the hands of Silenus.

G15 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

G16
Location: Casa del Menandro, I 10, 4, room 11 (oecus or triclinium), north wall, central picture. **Excavation:** 1928.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: H and W of the painting 47 cm, with frames 51 cm.
Bibliography: Schefold 1957, 41; F. Parise Badoni 1990, 301 (*PPM* 2); Richardson 2000, 140: The Iphigenia Painter; Ling 2005, 67–69, 204–205, plate 61; Romizzi 2006, 329, no. 94; Hodske 2007, no. 63.
Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the east wall depicts a satyr with a cupid,[454] on the west wall Perseus and Andromeda.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A composition of two figures. On the left, a robed female figure stands with her weight on her left foot leaning on a pillar with her right arm, on which hangs a cloak; she has a thyrsus with a bunch of leaves on top, and stretches her left hand towards a small boy in the middle; he raises both his hands towards the female's hand above him. Behind them, on the right side, there is a door.



G16 Drawing L.A. Ling, Ling 2005, 360, fig. 31

Comments: The event is taking place indoors, a maenad teasing standing Bacchus. This is a variant of G15 above.

G17
Location: Casa di M. Fabius Rufus, VII 16, 22, room 58 (cubiculum) north wall, central picture.
Excavation: (1759, 1910, 1940,) 1958, 1960–1980.
Condition: Fractures, otherwise good.

[454] This is a variation of the child Bacchus theme, see e.g. Hodske 2007, 165, no. 65.

Measurements: H of the painting ca. 50 cm, W 40 cm.
Bibliography: *Pompei 1748–1980*, 22, 29; Bragantini 1997 (*PPM* 7), 1063, 1065: boy Dionysus and a satyr looking like a young god; Romizzi 2006, 449-450, no. 717; Hodske 2007, 165, no. 562: satyr and boy Dionysus.
Decorative Scheme: The other central pictures depict Narcissus and Hercules with a female figure.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: On the left stands a young wreathed satyr callipygos ¾ in rear view, with his weight on his right foot; his cloak hangs from his left arm, covering only his thighs; he has a staff in his left arm, probably a thyrsus; he holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand; his head is in profile, and he looks down at the boy standing in the middle. The boy also stands partly in rear view, looking at the satyr; he wears a short tunic and tries to catch the grapes above him with both hands. In the foreground on the right, there is a fallen crater, and behind it an altar decorated with a pedum and a patera.

G17 Pompeii, photo from Jackie and Bob Dunn.

Comments: The satyr's pose is rare, but the event is very common in Bacchic wall paintings. The scene resembles the young Bacchus offering grapes to a small satyr in F3, now having exchanged their roles.

G18
Location: Casa di Titus Dentatius Panthera, IX 2, 16, room *b* (cubiculum), east wall, frieze (dado).
Excavation: 1867.
Condition: Destroyed.
Measurements: H of the painting 18 cm, W 70 cm.
Bibliography: Helbig 1868,130, no. 571b; Fiorelli 1878, 382–382: ithyphallic figure; Schefold 1957, 242: Bacchus as ephebe with nymphs; Schefold 1962, 67, pl. 44:3; Sampaolo 1999, 8–9 (*PPM* 9); Romizzi 2006, 472, s.n.

G18 Drawing L. Schulz (DAIR).

Decorative Scheme: The central picture on the east wall depicts Theseus abandoning Ariadne. The second part of the frieze consisted of Bacchic cult objects, e.g. a small herm next to a sacred tree.[455] The third part showed e.g. Apollo and Marsyas.

[455] Moormann 1988, 210, no. 279/1, identifies the herm as Dionysus. However, the image is without clear attributes.

Style and Dating: III.
Description: A composition of three figures. On the left stands a robed female next to a stone, looking at a child in the middle. He stands with his weight on his right foot, holding a cantharus in his right hand and an upright thyrsus in his left. On the right is a draped female figure, sitting on a stone and holding a vessel in her right hand.
Comments: The child Bacchus stands between two nymphs, who are watching him. There is some confusion in the research literature about the motifs of the frieze, but this part is explicitly Bacchic. In G15–G17 a standing child is depicted as reaching for grapes, with one or more adults actively participating in the scene. In the isolated case G18 the standing boy is surrounded by figures who passively watch him not participating in the action. There is a variation of this theme with similar isolated figures known from Herculaneum (MANN 9267).[456]

G19
Location: Casa del Sacello Iliaco, I 6, 4, room *e* (sacellum), on the vaulted ceiling, on the west side between the almond shaped medallions.
Excavation: 1913, 1929.
Condition: Damaged but restored.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Spinazzola 1953, 545-547, plate 34: cupids; Schefold 1957, 23: chariot of Bacchus; Bragantini 1990, 302-304 (*PPM* 1): cupids; Blanc 1997, 38: une moindre mesure bacchique; Bassani 2008, 214–215.

G19 Drawing A. Sanarica, detail, Spinazzola 1953, tav. 34.

Decorative Scheme: On the vault in the middle is Ganymede, on the west side the chariot of Venus, elsewhere satyrs and maenads. On the lunette, Selene and Endymion. The frieze below depicts scenes of the Trojan war.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A chariot is drawn by panthers, led by a cupid. On the chariot stands a figure, now damaged.
Comments: Usually scholars have considered all of the small figures to be cupids, some with wings and some wingless. Bacchus may therefore be the small damaged charioteer. This example, and the next two cases, are interpreted here as the child Bacchus, instead of a cupid, as they are lacking wings.

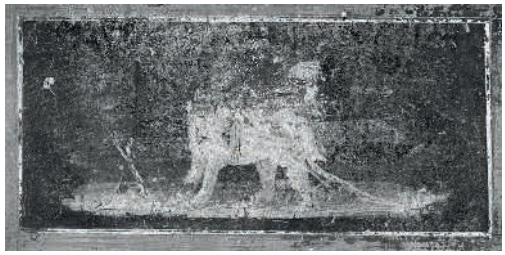
G20
Location: Fullonica di Stephanus, I 6,7, room *e* (atrium), east wall, on the right of the door to room *c*.
Excavation: 1912.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: W 36 cm.

[456] E.g. *AdE*, and Elia 1932, 47, no. 61.

Bibliography: Della Corte *NSA* 1912, 289: un bambino nudo (Bacco fanciullo); Boyce 1937, 110, no. 2: outer wall; Schefold 1957, 24[457]; *PPP* I, 33: chariot with Bacchic attributes; Sampaolo 1990, 336–338 (*PPM* 1).
Decorative Scheme: Various animals.
Style and Dating: IV (Vespasian).
Description: A composition of a chariot drawn by two panthers on a red background. The two-wheeled chariot displays Bacchic attributes such as scyphus and cantharus, and a child figure leading the panthers beside the chariot.
Comments: The painting is so damaged that the identification cannot be explicit, with Bacchus however being a fair possibility. A comparison to the above G19 makes the attribution not unlikely.

G20 Pompeii (1959). Photo Stanley A. Jashemski.

G21
Location: Casa Imperiale, I 11, 17, room 4 (oecus), south wall, central side field, small framed panel. **Excavation:** 1954–1960.
Condition: Damaged.
Measurements: Not known.
Bibliography: Fergola and M. de Vos 1990, 666, 667 and 677 (*PPM* 2): baby Dionysus.
Decorative Scheme: There are other small pictures with figures. On the east wall is a medallion depicting Venus and two cupids. On the north wall there is a vannus with a veiled phallus and a thyrsus in the upper zone, and a medallion with Bacchic heads in the central zone.
Style and Dating: IV.
Description: A child rides a panther holding a bunch of grapes.
Comments: The child Bacchus urges his mount on with grapes, for which the animal has a predilection known from other wall paintings. From Herculaneum comes a painting of infant Bacchus sitting on a horse, if not a donkey, MANN 9122.



G21 Pompeii (GNF), also PPM 2, 677.

The subject of the infant Bacchus includes three main iconographic types: the first depicts a lone, naked, and standing youth carrying the infant either on his shoulder or in his arms. In the second type, the infant is carried either by a robed maenad or Silenus, sometimes accompanied by other figures. The isolated third type, a unicum, depicts the

[457] Referring to the *Notizie degli Scavi,* Boyce placed the painting on the outer wall. That is why Schefold listed two different paintings for this house, but this is the actual one – the other is an incorrect addition.

baby Bacchus on the ground, accompanied by two women watching him. The paintings are in some cases presented inside frames, and some may depict statues, while others are presented as floating figures or the central pictures in their panels. The size of the latter examples vary according to the function of the room. G11, the largest example and of very high quality, depicts the triumph of the infant Bacchus - the only composition of the kind coming from a large triclinium.

It is not easy to convincingly identify the small figures depicted along with a panther or a chariot. The overall decorative schemes of the rooms in question, however, allow for the identification as Bacchus. Winged Bacchic cupids do exist in Pompeii, with the most famous examples being those from the Casa dei Vettii, room *q*, placed along with other paintings depicting a youthful Bacchus.[458] A good example is a mosaic from Casa del Fauno (MANN 9991) with a Bacchic Cupid or Genius riding a lion-panther.[459] There is also a painting with a child Bacchus on a seated panther from Herculaneum (MANN 9122). The child Bacchus is easy to confuse with cupids carrying Bacchic attributes; my criteria in differentiating between the two has been to classify figures without wings and of individualized appearance, and either alone or in a small group, as Bacchus - as cupids usually appear in groups of similar figures.[460]

Although the overall popularity of the infant or child Bacchus in Pompeian wall paintings is not marked, more than one-third of the examples come from cubicula. This may refer to the use of these spaces by women and children.

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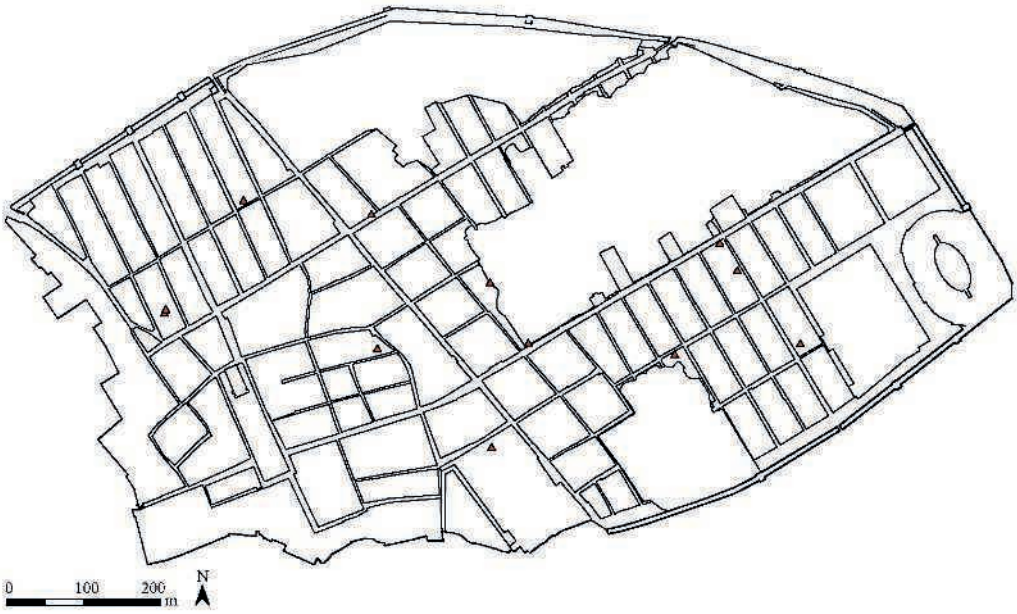
[458] The carriage of cupids is considered to depict Bacchus e.g. by Gasparri 1986, 557 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 221. Cf. my chapter Mosaics.

[459] E.g. Gasparri 1986, 559 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 258 defines it as an assimilation (in a subchapter Assimilazioni di Bacco ad una divinità); Blanc – Gury 1986, 1022 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido no. 578. Cf. below the catalogue of mosaics.

[460] In my material, a single cupid appears in the company of Venus on the temple pediment H1.



Location of H1–H21.

8. Catalogue of Sculptures and Minor Arts

The Pompeian sculptures and objects of minor arts depicting Bacchus appear in many sizes and materials, from figurines to reliefs, half-size statues, and engravings, and include all the main iconographic types. The 21 items in the catalogue are divided into groups according to the material, starting with the oldest, i.e. tufa, followed by marble, terracotta,[461] bronze, bone, and glass. In the following analysis, attention is paid both to the iconography of the items and to their function. Herms, although the most numerous type of marble sculptures with depictions of Bacchus, are presented here only in the Appendix 2.[462]

This section of the catalogue is more heterogeneous, as it includes objects of different materials, and none of the publications that the material was collected from had Pompeian Bacchus as their primary focus. The catalogue is a modified version of that used for the wall paintings. As to the dating, I have accepted the given dates in the research literature, which are mostly vague but acceptable in the context of Roman Pompeian society. In general, there are more imported sculptures compared to

[461] *Bacchi* made of terracotta are very rare. There are no examples in the catalogue of d'Ambrosio – Borriello 1990, but many satyrs and Sileni exist, 29–43. I have not included to this study any lamps or terra sigillata.

[462] They are treated more in detail in my forthcoming article.

the inserted central pictures of wall paintings (none of which seems to appear in my material).

Stone Objects H1–H8

Tufa H1–H5

H1 Pedimental relief
Location: The extramural temple in the area of Sant'Abbondio, western pediment towards the river.
Excavation: 1947.
Condition: Outer edges completely missing, edges between blocks damaged, faces of the human figures partially or completely destroyed, otherwise well preserved. Original colours nearly vanished, some white, red, yellow and blue traces under later white overpaint.
Measurements: W ca 4.40 m, max. H 0.90 m.
Bibliography: Maiuri 1958a, 119–120; Elia 1965, 188–189; Elia 1975, 120–123, 138–139; Elia – Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 456–471; Döhl – Zanker 1979, 181; Lacam 2010, 313; Wyler 2013, 47–58.
Description: The composition consists of six slabs of grey Nucerian tufa with four human and two animal figures. From the left, a panther with a floating tail is running towards the centre. A reclining satyr, whose loins are covered with a cloak, faces the panther and stretches his right hand towards the animal; his left-hand fingers rest on the right knee of the next figure. He is a fully robed youth who holds a cantharus with a moulded foot by the stem in his outstretched right hand, and a bunch of grapes in his left, while leaning on a fulcrum of the adjacent kline[463]; his torso and face are depicted frontally, his face is round, with a strong chin and a small mouth with full lips; his short hair is curly and adorned with a wreath, and a veil is falling on his shoulders. In the centre of the pediment - and of the whole composition - there is an upright thyrsus with a ribbon. On the right side, a female is leaning on the fulcrum covered with upholstery;

H1 Pedimental relief from the extramural temple, western pediment towards the river. Pompeii, antiquarium (2017). All blocks.

[463] I would considerer the piece on the ground as belonging to the kline, not to be a tambourine as Wyler 2013, 48, 55.

her upper body is depicted frontally, making the gesture of anakalypsis with her left hand; her robe is girdled and tied on the right shoulder, her right arm rests on her hip. By her feet is a kneeling cupid, who holds in his outstretched right hand a mirror or a fan. A bird with a long, folded neck is depicted in the right corner, facing the other figures.

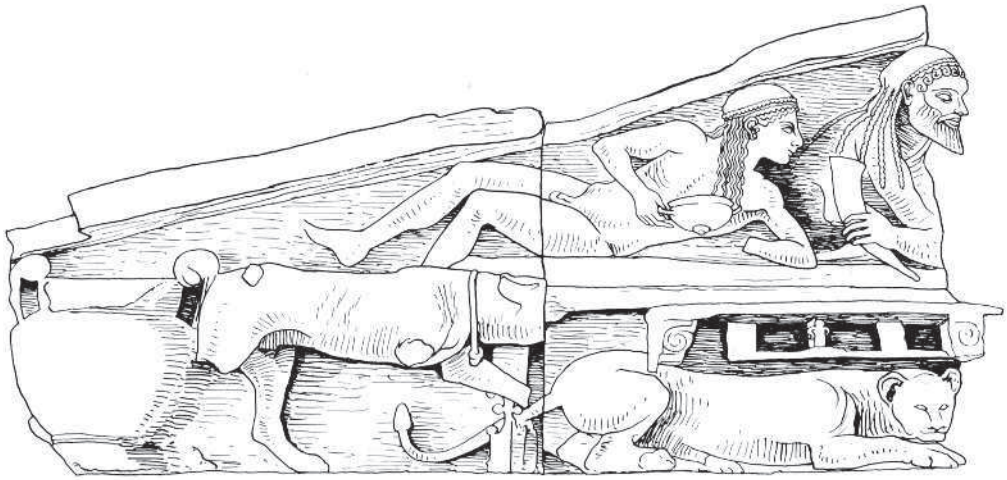
Dating: Second half of the third century BC.

Comments: This is a scene of a symposion in connection with a wedding. The central position of the thyrsus confirms the subject as Bacchic and the identity of the male undisputedly Bacchus, the Oscan Loufir, who is lifting the cantharus towards the viewer. The female is Venus, the Oscan Herentas, rather than Ariadne; she is identified by her own specific attributes, the mirror/fan, the swan, and the cupid, and also by her being the most important local goddess of old.[464] Parallel compositions with similar figures are known from Etruscan Vulci, from two sepulchral or model templar pediments, starting from the third century to the first century BC.[465] His left hand as well as the female's right hand are somewhat out of proportion, not dissimilarly e.g. to the cameo glass H21 and innumerous wall paintings. – This is a rare pedimental depiction of the Bacchic world, sharing the subject of a symposium with an Archaic pediment from Figareto on the island of Corfu, where only half of the pediment is preserved: a bearded Dionysus with a rhyton

H1 Pedimental relief from the extramural temple, Detail: Bacchus and Venus; panther. Pompeii, antiquarium (2017).

[464] The sacred area of the temple of Venus probably existed already in the sixth century BC in Pompeii. The divinity had features of both the Greek Aphrodite and Etruscan Uni, Curti 2008b, 70–71.

[465] Cristofani 1986, 531–541, *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos/Fufluns. Cristofani's no. 62, in the museum of Vulci, is a pediment of a sepulchral aedicule depicting very similar figures excluding the satyr, and with two thyrsi instead of one (= Jurgeit no. 20); Jurgeit 1986, 1073 LIMC 3, s.v. Ariadne/Ariatha no. 21 is a temple model of terracotta with Dionysus and Ariadne symbolizing the sacred union in the pediment. They are the only figures and Ariadne is depicted as callipyge. Other parallels depict sitting figures, one a terracotta slab from Vulci, now in the Archaeological Museum of Florence (73842), the other is a vase from Ruvo, now in MANN, Elia 1979, 467–468.



Limestone pediment from the temple of Figareto, Corfu. Boardman 1978, fig. 207a.

in his hand as the middle figure, accompanied by a young male symposionist, a panther, and a Molossian hound; the males are intensely looking at the scene on their left, now alas lost (a game of kottabos perhaps?).[466] Both the Figaretan and the Pompeian pediments seem to depict two scenes seemingly independent of each other. In Figareto the other half of the pediment remains unknown, in Pompeii the panegyric of wine in the presence of the customary associates, a satyr and a panther, is presented on the left side, while on the right side a female beauty, Venus, is tending to her toilet with her usual attendants. She is Venus much rather than Ariadne, as the pediment comes from Pompeii.

H2 Relief
Location: Pompeii, no exact location, P 8660.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Good, but the midpart of the thyrsus is destroyed. Nose tip broken, frame broken on the right side.
Measurements: H ca. 100, W ca. 40 cm.
Bibliography: Elia 1975, 121, 141, fig. 14: giovinetto in veste muliebre; Wyler 2013, 56.
Description: The relief is cut very deep into a rectangular upright block, with frames indicating the original thickness of the slab. The width of the frame varies, being thinner on the right side. It depicts a frontally standing skinny youth with his weight on his right foot, pouring wine from a cantharus for an animal rather resembling a dog than a panther; he wears long boots and a knee-length tunic with a long apoptygma and pardalis, both girdled; in his upraised left

[466] Boardman 1978, 157, fig. 207a. The preserved width of the pediment is 2.73 m, which is somewhat larger than the example from Pompeii.

hand he holds a thyrsus ending in a narrow top with scale-like flakes; his face is angular, mouth small, nose straight, and eyes carefully indicated with brows; his long hair falls on his shoulders, and his forehead is partly covered with a narrow fillet; his hair is either curly or decorated with rudimentary wreath of ivy. The animal rears on its hindlegs, snout possibly turned towards the pouring wine. Parts of the animal and the divinity's arms and legs are almost free-sculpted from the background.
Dating: Samnite.
Comments: This is a Bacchic votive stele. The workmanship is rather coarse and indigenous, i.e. Italic (plebeian),[467] making this object unique in this material. The image of a panther was not well known, but it is presented in general accordance with the size and posture of the Bacchic animal drinking avidly from the cantharus that Bacchus so nonchalantly offers him. The divinity's apparel is relatively known in Pompei,[468] and the artist did his best with the porous stone. There is nothing especially feminine in his outfit, as is claimed by Elia. The statue may belong to the period of the construction of the temple, but shows different artistic intentions. Italic tombstones with framed reliefs are known from the second and first centuries BC from various sites in Campania.[469] This Pompeian stela is simpler, and thus probably earlier.

H2 Relief, no exact location, inv. 8660 Pompeii Granai del Foro (2012).

H3 Capital of a pillar
Location: Casa del Torello, V 1,7, the face of a rectangular capital on the east side by the entrance, P 295-4.
Excavation: 1836.
Condition: Good, except the minor figures are acephalous.
Measurements: H 56.6 cm; W 81 cm.
Bibliography: Mercklin 1962, 71–73, no. 186; Elia 1975, 120, 125–126; Rescigno – Vecchio 2012, 50–51; Staub 2013, 19–21, 230, fig. 7; Staub 2017[470].
Description: Three figures of different scales rise from an astragal and a crown of acanthus leaves of equal length. The primary figure in the middle is depicted as a bust, wearing a tunic

[467] G. Colonna, s.v. Arte italica, *EAA* 4 (1963), 41.

[468] Haubner 1971, 125.

[469] Bianchi Bandinelli – Giuliano: Etruschi e Italici Prima Del Dominio Di Roma, Milan 1976, 333–334, 416, nos. 386–387.

[470] Casa del Torello, Façade – Statues: http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/feature.php?hid=23&hidnummer=6060276&hrubrik=V%201,7%20Casa%20del%20Torello&rid=187&ridnummer=2079027&rrubrik=Facade&fid=275&fidnummer=9885409&frubrik=Statues. (Retrieved 8.12.2019).

H3 Capital of a pillar, Pompeii, Granai del Foro (2012).

and a cloak on his left shoulder and possibly a nebris on the right shoulder; the head is tilted to the left; he has an oval face with a strong chin, a small mouth, a straight nose, and small eyes; the short undulating hair is covered with a fillet and clusters of berries of ivy; a bunch of grapes hang down from both of his ears. He is flanked by two minor full figures, who are standing. The one on the right side of the middle figure is a robed female, decorated with a garland; her left hand stretches towards the youth's hair. The other, on his left, is a naked male with a cloak thrown over his left arm; his right hand touches the hair of the youth.

Decorative Scheme: A cupid framed by tendrils and topped with a scroll is depicted on the same capital, with its face towards the street.

Dating: Samnite period, late second century.

Comments: Figural capitals made of tufa are well represented in Pompeii, and often depict the Bacchic world. This is the only one preserved that portrays the god himself. The miniature figure's gesture, touching the god's hair, is a unique subject, but the bunch of grapes hanging from his ears is relatively well-known. The smaller figures belong to the thiasus of Bacchus, perhaps being portrayed in hierarchical proportion. The cupid on the other face of the pillar is depicted in the same scale as the two figures standing next to young Bacchus. A drawing by G.B. Piranesi, engraved by F. Piranesi and published in *Antiquités de Pompeia* 2, pl. 57,[471] depicts busts of Silenus, young Bacchus, and a maenad on the two faces of a figural capital of the house opposite the Basilica. These two capitals certainly come from the same workshop; in both capitals, the divinity is depicted with bunches of grapes hanging from his ears. Some dozen figural tufa capitals are known from Pompeii; they all seem to come from wealthy residences.

H4 Fountain pilaster with a relief

Location: In front of House VI 17,27, outside Insula Occidentalis, or more preferably in front of II 3,5.[472] Moved possibly to Portici, MANN?

Excavation: 1756 (or 1757).

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[471] Mercklin 1962, fig. 367, no. 194.

[472] Parslow 1995, 283 quotes Karl Weber's manuscript, in whose map there is a fountain with a head with grapes. It was discovered 20.9.1756 near the Praedia Iuliae Felicis: "*Fontana di pietra viva con mascarone buttava l'aqua, con orecchini di grappole d'uva.*"; Cf. also http://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/Fountains/Fountain%2020305.htm and http://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/Fountains/Fountain%2061727.htm. (Retrieved 3.10.2019).

Condition: Lost.
Measurements: H ca. 105.2, W ca. 52.6.
Bibliography: *PAH* 1, 51; Mazois 1824:2, 37, pl. 3, fig. 2: Bacchus; Weber 1830, 43, no. 17, in *BdI* 1830; Eschebach 1983, 15, 24–26, no. 43: Vertumnus or Bacchus; Bragantini 1995, 32–33 (*PPM Disegnatori*) drawing by Weber; Parslow 1995, 121, 168: a mask wreathed with clusters of grapes.
Description: A bust of a youth in relief inside a frame and a pediment. His face is oval, his mouth is wide open, his nose is straight, and the eyes clearly marked with eyebrows; a fillet is tied above his forehead, and the hair is fully covered with pears and roundish fruits, some leaves, and flowers; bunches of grapes frame the face on both sides.
Dating: Samnite period.
Comments: The only image was procured by Mazois, who does not give an exact location for the fountain. The excavation report in the *PAH* does not give any information on the figure, but excavations were made at the time in both of the above-mentioned areas in Pompeii. The characteristics could refer to Vertumnus, who seems to be, however, quite rare in Pompeii; in the potential cases the identification is deficient, because the so-called Vertumnus could also be identified as Vernus, depicted together with other seasons.[473] An identification as Bacchus was made by the author of the drawing, and I agree with him; in Pompeii, Bacchus is known to have been portrayed with bunches of grapes, even if the fruits and flowers are here somewhat problematic – we do not know the state of preservation when the drawing was done. A bronze statuette from Herculaneum (MANN 5925, H 11.2 cm) and two Roman marble heads in Copenhagen are all depicted with grapes in the hair, thus supporting the identification of the fountain relief as Bacchus as well.[474] Water once flowed out from the wide open mouth.

H4 Drawing, Mazois 1824 (2), pl. 3, fig 2.

H5 Relief head
Location: Theatre, VIII 7,20, the keystone of the west side vaulted entrance from the courtyard, facing south.
Excavation: 1764–1797.
Condition: Damaged, stucco partly fallen, e.g in the nose and curls.
Measurements: H ca. 60 cm.

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[473] Vertumnus may appear in a wall painting in Pompeii, cf. Helbig 1868, 201, no. 1007; Reinach 1922, 334, no. 4.

[474] The fragmentary marble head in the National Museum in Copenhagen depicts a young Bacchus with grapes and a crown of vine leaves and ivy in his hair. It is a Roman copy of a Greek sculpture from 300–100 BC. The New Carlsberg Glyptotek head had horns made of separate material in his head, I.N. 563, Moltesen 2002, 180–181.

Bibliography: Overbeck – Mau 1884, 158: satyr; Mau 1908, 142: a satyr's head; Elia 1975, 121; Eschebach 1978, 55: a satyr; Eschebach 1983, 35: Dionysus.
Description: A single naked bust depicts frontally a young male with strong features. Tight curls frame both sides of the face and clusters of berries of ivy adorn the hair. Covered with stucco.
Dating: Samnite period/Sullan colony.
Comments: Eschebach changed his mind on the identification, from a satyr to Bacchus, and with reason. The audience entering the cavea from the courtyard through the west entrance saw the bust of Bacchus above them, and were thus elevated to the right mood for the performance. The Greek features of the architecture also support the identification as Bacchus, the protector of the theatre.

H5 Relief head, Eschebach 1978, fig. 64.

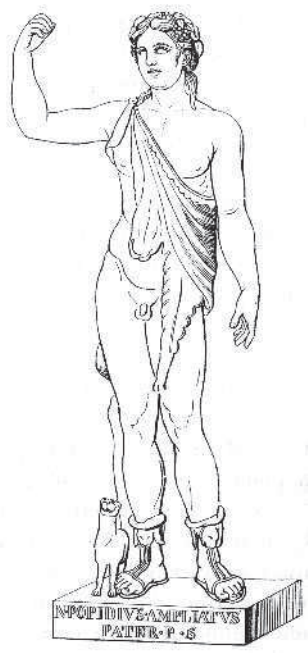
The earliest portrayals of Bacchus have come down to us in five tufa reliefs, four of which are connected to architecture, both private and public. The stele's original location is not known, but it surely is from a votive context. The chronological range extends from the third to the second century BC, that is the Samnite period, and the time when the grey, fine-grained, and easily workable Nucerian tufa stone was especially favoured. The iconography of the tufa reliefs is essentially Hellenistic. Some models seem to have come through Etruria, and the sculptors may even have come from Vulci. The stela was possibly carved by a local craftsman, who had not yet quite mastered the Greek way of portraying the god of wine and theatre.

Marble H6–H8

Excluding the herms, sculpted representations of Bacchus are extremely rare, with only three entries in our catalogue. The Bacchic world in general is however very well presented, with satyrs being the most popular motifs. Beardless figures without visible ears have been the most challenging group to differentiate between the divinity and his main followers.

H6 Male statue
Location: The temple of Isis, VIII 7,28, in a niche on the back wall of the cella, MANN 6312.
Excavation: 1766.

H6 Pompeii, west rear wall of cella of the temple of Isis.



H6 Drawing from Overbeck – Mau 1884, 542, fig. 280c.

Condition: Signs of ancient restoration in the right arm, some colours remaining when discovered. The objects in the statue's hands and the head of the panther have been lost.
Measurements: H 100 cm.
Bibliography: *PAH* 1, 151 (Addenda); Finati 1833, in *MB* 9, pl. 11: Bacco con tigre; Fiorelli 1875, 360; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 107, 542–543, fig. 280c; Ruesch 1908, 227, no. 927; Döhl–Zanker 1979, 183; Cooley – Cooley 2004, 86–87; De Caro 2006, 26, 68; Van Andringa 2012, 86, 107.
Description: The statue, made of Carrara marble, is standing on a quadrangular slab with an inscription. An almost naked youth stands with his weight on his right foot; he wears high parade boots decorated with feline heads in front,[475] and a nebris across his torso, tied on the top of his right shoulder; his hair is adorned with a wreath of ivy and clusters of berries, and some wisps are falling on his shoulders; his face is roundish, with a small mouth and full lips, and he seems to be looking into the distance; in his raised right hand he probably held a bunch of grapes, and in his left lowered hand most likely a thyrsus. By his right ankle a panther sits with his head upraised towards the grapes. Behind the two figures, supporting the right foot of the youth, is a tree trunk. The Latin inscription on the front of the plinth reads N POPIDIUS AMPLIATUS PATER P S (*CIL* X 847).

[475] Sebesta – Bonfante 1994, 123; The high parade boots of Dionysus appear also in a early Lucanian vase, Trendall 1989, 21–22. fig. 23.

Dating: After 62 AD.
Comments: The statue was donated by a freedman, Numerius Popidius Ampliatus, known to have paid for the restoration of the temple of Isis after the earthquake of 62. This he made in the name of his six year old son: "Numerius Popidius Ampliatus, father, at his own expense".[476] Bacchus was not an object of the cult in the temple of Isis, but as one of the locally venerated gods it was customary to dedicate his statues in the temples of other divinities.[477] In the portico of the temple of Isis there were statues of other divinities, among them a statue of Venus. The location of Bacchus was remarkable, as he was presented in the actual temple building, even if on the exterior wall, but on the same axis as the cult statue inside the cella. He was also connected to Osiris, and positioning him in a temple of an Egyptian cult was also not exceptional. Ears fashioned of stucco, applied on both sides of the shallow recess, indicated that the divinity was listening to the prayers of the worshippers.[478] The statue itself is of a common type of young Bacchus, originally with his own specific attributes, but without any Egyptianizing features. The panther is uncharacteristically small, possibly a cub, as if added as an afterthought.

H7 Male statue
Location: Casa dei Vettii, VI 15,1, garden *m*, near the second column of the south side, P 53505 (old 678).
Excavation: 1894.
Condition: A thyrsus, possibly made of bronze, was missing already during the excavation; now the whole left arm above the elbow is lost. Traces of yellow were earlier visible on the nebris and hair, and of black on the eyes and eyebrows.
Measurements: H 63 cm.
Bibliography: *NSA* 1895, 33–34; Mau 1896, in *MDAI*(*R*), 36–37; Döhl 1976 II, 129, 131; Jashemski 1993, 153; Wohlmayr 1989, 112, no. 26; di Pasquale – Paolucci 2007, 292, no. 3.B.38.
Description: This is a statue of Carrara marble, depicting a youth standing with his weight on his right foot. He leans on a tree trunk and wears a nebris on both shoulders extending down the back; the right lowered hand holds a cantharus, the left lifted hand held a thyrsus; his head is tilted to the right; his face is round, the lips are small, the nose straight and pointed, and the eyelids are clearly marked; he wears a wreath of ivy with large leaves over his ears, and clusters of berries on the forehead, the airy wisps, perhaps with grapes, falling on both shoulders. The base is made of darker stone. A drill was used on several parts, e.g. the hair. There is a water pipe about 17

H7 MonAnt 8 (1898), 287–288. also e.g. Niccolini IV Nuovi Scavi tav. 23 has a drawing of the statue.

[476] Cooley – Cooley 2004, 86–87; The temple dedication *CIL* X 846.

[477] According to Van Andringa 2012, 107, 110, the statue was a non-permanent object, installed only for the inauguration of the temple.

[478] Moormann 2011, 151.

cm above the base, between the right arm and the flank.
Dating: After 62 AD.
Comments: Compared with the former statue, this is of less talented workmanship. The head is too small for the body, but otherwise the only difference is the reversed position of the arms. The statue was one of the twelve statues used as a fountain, and the water pipe created an illusion of emptying the cantharus.

H8 Oscillum
Location: Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico, garden, MANN 6651.
Excavation: 1838.
Condition: About one third missing from the upper edge.
Measurements: D 31.6 cm; Th. 3 cm.
Bibliography: *PAH* 2 (1862), 348; Welcker 1850, 133, no. 49; Dwyer 1981, 278, no. 79; Corswandt 1982, 88, no. K 65; Carrella 2008, 102, 105 (*Marmora*).
Description: On both sides, a *fascia* decorated with vine. Side A presents a bearded fully-draped figure wearing a himation over a chiton. He stands with his wreathed head in profile to the right, leaning with his right arm on a short column decorated with a fillet; in the right hand he holds a cantharus, and in his left upwards bent arm he holds a thyrsus with a large pinecone on the top. Behind on the left is a leafless tree, and in front of him a kline with a content-looking panther lying on it, and facing the same direction as his master, with his right front paw over the edge. On the broken fragment, Falkener sketched the head of the animal, a tree with some leaves, and an oscillum with the depiction of a cantharus hanging from a branch.[479]

H8 Drawing E. Falkener.

Side B presents Pan running to the left on a rocky terrain, and holding a nebris over his left arm. A panther is running beside him, looking backwards towards Pan. Falkener sketched Pan dangling a bunch of grapes in front of the nose of the animal.
Dating: First century AD.
Comments: A bearded Bacchus is seldom depicted in sculptural form in Pompeii, even if it was a popular subject in Neo-attic art elsewhere, with examples e.g. from Herculaneum. The images in the sides of the oscillum are in contrast to the tone of their scenes; a frantic sprint by two of the divinity's closest companions, and a relaxed Bacchus, with the panther having already

[479] In 1895 Edward Falkener was planning a book *Dulcis Pompeia and its Daily Life* with a huge number of his drawings from Pompei, but he was advised by the bookseller Bernard Quaritch "not to produce the book, as the interest in Pompeian Art is dead". (A letter in Falkener Archive).

savoured his wine. In Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico was also a now destroyed wall painting depicting Bacchus in a lararium.

Marble sculptures of Bacchus are a rarity in Pompeii, with only two surviving free-standing examples, of half-size or less. There is, however, some information on other examples as well, although either their present or original location (if really from Pompeii) are not known.[480] Our two examples follow the canonical iconography of the young naked male. Both were made of Carraran marble. One was inherently connected to another divinity's temple, and the other functioned as a fountain in the private garden of one of the richest new families in late Pompeii. The oscillum of white marble depicting a bearded Bacchus is a unicum. The human adult figure of the divinity seems to have been avoided in sculptural form in Pompeii. Besides these two statues, he was represented only by one oscillum, although a large number of the *oscilla* (and *pinakes*) discovered are clearly Bacchic in subject; but even here the depictions of satyrs surpass Bacchus himself in numbers. It seems that Bacchus in his full human form was avoided as a sculptural subject, and that he was rather represented through herms and masks.

Terracotta H9–H12

Equally rare are the depictions of Bacchus in baked clay, with only four entries in this catalogue. Two of these are parts of architectural elements, and two belong to the coroplastic art.

H9 Fragment of a rain gutter with relief
Location: Insula Occidentalis, corner slab of a rain gutter (sima) of a compluvium, P 12642.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Broken on the right side, a diagonal crack in the middle across the slab; figure slightly damaged on the left shoulder and right knee, and on the neck. Considering the broken state, it seems that the two otherwise unexplainable lumps of clay on both sides of the head were a later addition to fix the head to the slab.

[480] A marble statue was discovered in 1837 in the Casa del Granduca Michele di Russia/Casa dei Vasi di vetro, VI 5,5, on the south side of its peristyle. According to Schulz (1838, 186) it was given to the namesake Russian prince present during the excavation, and the statue is probably in St. Petersburg. The information on its discovery is given in *PAH* II, 334: un Bacco, con tazza in una mano, e tirso mancante in parte nell'altra, non che una pantera a'suoi piedi mancante di un piede, di altezza oltre la base pal. 2 ¾ (ca 72.5 cm). Other sources are equally confusing: Schulz 1838, 185–186, 193: tra esse statuette distinguesi di un Sileno, intieramente corrispondente alla statua che vedesi sulla fontana della casa del gran duca di Toscana; Jashemski 1979, 123; Wohlmayr 1989, 112, no. 25 (but his picture is of another statue discovered in Piacenza, and other pieces of his information, e.g. the inventory number and measurements, are incorrect); Bragantini 1993 (*PPM* 4), 327, 329; Pagano – Prisciandaro 2006:1, 152.

Measurements: H 32.5 cm, W 21.6 cm, Th. 11 cm.
Bibliography: d'Ambrosio – Borriello 1990, 87, no. 224; Känel 2000, 269–278.
Description: A youth stands with his weight on his right foot, leaning with his left elbow on a short pillar with mouldings in base and top. He is depicted frontally except for the head, which is turned to his left in ¾ profile; a cloak covers his hips and thighs, some of the folds reach up to the top of the pillar; the abdominal and pectoral muscles of his torso are clearly marked; his left elbow is presented in a less skilful foreshortening; he has a serious look on his face, and he gazes to his left while holding his right arm behind his head, adorned with a wreath with exceptionally large leaves of ivy and clusters of berries on top of his head. The figure is mould-made and the details partly tooled.[481]
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Dating: Late second or early first century BC.
Comments: Figural decoration in the shape of a human figure is rare for the rain gutters of compluvia, even rarer is the use of a youthful Bacchus as their decoration. When used, Bacchus is portrayed in bearded masks.[482] As to the apparel of the figure, the loincloth covers the genitals instead of a more liberal exhibition.
In this case, only one-half of the slab is preserved, and the potential narrative is lost. His leaning pose suggests a drunken state in need of a support. The position of the raised hand is similar to the Apollon Lykeios -gesture[483] and characteristic of Bacchus, especially when he is depicted under the influence of alcohol, cf. E20, F23, F26 and F32. The use of Bacchus in connection of flowing water may refer to the pouring of wine, in analogy with the fountain statues, e.g. marble No. 2 above.

H10 Male head
Location: Unknown house in VII 2, P 14165.
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Tip of the nose broken.
Measurements: H 10.3 cm; W 8.2 cm; Thi. 7.9 cm.
Bibliography: d'Ambrosio – Borriello 1990, 40, no. 73; Känel 2000, 275: head of Dionysus.
Description: A well-modelled male head, inclined to his left and slightly upwards; strong ringed neck, roundish face with fine details: the small mouth, straight nose, eyes with clearly marked lids, pupils, and eyebrows, and a forehead with wrinkles and small horns, are all clearly rendered; the long hair is drawn back and held together with a fillet, with leaves and clusters of berries of ivy. The head is left unmodelled at the back, probably signifying that it was attached to an architectural element.
Decorative Scheme: Not known.
Dating: Second century BC.

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[481] Känel 2000, 272.

[482] E. Vollaro, 'Su alcune sime da Pompei: il tipo con Dioniso ed eroti', *Oebalus* 7 (2012) 87–101.

[483] This aposkopos gesture is often made by Dionysus in South Italian vase painting of the fourth century BC. I. Jucker, *Der Gestus des Aposkopein. Ein Beittrag zur Gebärdensprache in der antiken Kunst*, Zürich 1956.

Comments: The unmodelled back of the head indicates that it was attached to an architectural element, such as a wall or a pillar. He is identified as Bacchus due to his horns and human ears, not as a satyr.[484] The iconographic type depicting the divinity with small horns and a wreath is also known from three Pompeian wall paintings, B20, E7 and F32.

H11 Figurine
Location: Partially excavated house, IX 7 (behind IX 7,20), garden, lararium niche on the right of the fountain, MANN 116664, one of a group of five terracotta figurines.
Excavation: 1881.
Condition: Traces of colour when discovered; the left hand of the youth and the head of the animal are missing.
Measurements: H 17.7 cm.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1881, 24 in *NSA*; Mau 1883, 154 in *BdI*; Boyce 1937, 89, no. 446; Adamo-Muscettola 1984, 10–11; Fröhlich 1991, 357.
Description: A moulded figurine of a male standing on a round base. His weight is on his right foot, he wears whitish boots and carries a white cloak with a red lining on his left outstretched arm, leaving his body naked in front and turning round the back over the right arm; his right arm hangs straight down and he pours wine from a cantharus to the panther sitting next to his right foot; his head is slightly turned towards the right and he gazes a little upwards.

H11 MANN 116664.

Dating: First century BC.
Comments: The figurine follows the customary model of the marble statues depicting a young Bacchus giving wine to a panther. It was not, however, a popular subject as a terracotta figurine, nor in bronzes. As it was discovered in a lararium it surely had religious meaning.

H12 Figurine
Location: Not known, MANN?
Excavation: Not known.
Condition: Only the head and shoulder preserved, otherwise destroyed. Remains of colours.
Measurements: H 8 cm.
Bibliography: von Rohden 1880, 26, 52, pl. 40, no. 2: fragment of a figurine or a group.
Description: A fragment of a moulded figurine depicting a bearded man frontally; he wears a red cloak which covers the head as well as his white tunic; his face is reddish, and his beard is represented by undulating vertical lines; his mouth is small, nose straight, and eyes wide with clearly marked eyeballs; a fillet goes over his forehead, decorated with clusters of berries of ivy. The back is not moulded. *Non vidi*.
Dating: Possibly first century AD.

[484] A bronze bust either from Herculaneum or Pompeii in Ward Perkins – Claridge 1978, 177, no. 169, depicts a satyr with horns and his characteristic ears; an isolated case of a satyr/Pan as a terracotta figurine with horns is known, however, from an unspecified location in Pompeii, von Rohden 1880, 34, pl. 12, no. 1.

Comments: The remaining fragment of this archaistic figurine depicts bearded Bacchus. The solemn face is suitable for a divinity, and follows the same iconography as herms. Bearded Bacchic figures appear frequently as terracotta masks, but the identification is somewhat problematic, bordering between the divinity and Sileni.[485]

H12 Figurine, MANN?, von Rohden 1880, pl. 40, 2.

Of the four objects of terracotta accepted here as Bacchi, two were utilitarian: one from inside a compluvium, and thus from a central part of a domus, and the other similarly from a domus, whether from the interior or exterior remains unknown. The complete figurine belonged to a lararium, and thus had a strong religious overtone, while the other isolated fragment represents a rare type of depiction as a bearded Bacchus, possibly even part of a group. Taking into consideration the popularity of outdoor religious scenes featuring a statue of a bearded Bacchus in wall paintings, it is reasonable to postulate that this figurine was also intended for religious purposes.

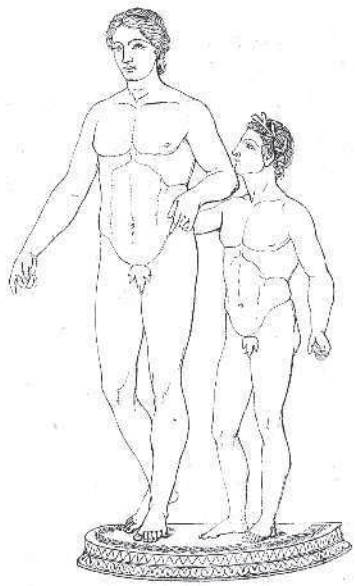
Bronze H13–H19

Bacchus appears more occasionally in artefacts made of the more valuable materials, such as bronze, sometimes with damascene, or bone or glass.

H13 Group of two male statues
Location: Casa di Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius/Casa di Pansa, VI 6,1.8.12.13, discovered in a bronze kettle, in the portico of peristyle *a*, MANN 4995.
Excavation: 1813.
Condition: The attribute of the taller figure missing, as are all the objects possibly held by both figures.
Measurements: H 83 cm.
Bibliography: *PAH* 1, 271 (Addenda): Bacco con Fauno; Finati 1827 in *MB* 3, pl. 9: Bacco e Ampelo; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 545, fig. 283b; Ruesch 1908, 207, no. 836; Döhl 1976, 16; Schröder 1989, 64–65; Jashemski 1993, 127.
Description: A group of two standing and naked males. The taller, on the left, stands with his weight on his left foot; his right hand is hanging down, and originally held an object judging by

[485] von Rohden 1880, pl. 12, nos. 3–4, pl. 13, nos. 1–2.

the position of the fingers (cf. Bronze H15); he leans slightly on the shoulder of the shorter figure with his left elbow; his hair is short and parted in the middle; his face is round, mouth small, nose straight, and eyes clearly marked; he is looking into the distance. The short figure stands with his weight on his right foot, supporting the taller figure with his right arm around the waist of his companion; his left arm hangs downwards with fingers open; his pine wreathed head with pointed ears is lifted, and he watches his companion.
Dating: Classisizing, first century BC – first century AD.
Comments: The taller male's countenance and pose indicate intoxication, which is why he needs support from his companion, who is looking anxiously up at him. He may also have needed a thyrsus in his right hand to keep him balanced. The composition and pose are typical of a slightly drunken Bacchus accompanied by a satyr, as identified by his ears. Such groups of Bacchus and a satyr also occur in bronze or marble.[486]



H13 Overbeck – Mau 1884, 545, fig. 283b.

H14 Male statue
Location: House VII 12,17.21, upper floor, MANN 5003.
Excavation: 1862.
Condition: Good, but the original base has been replaced and the panther is lost.
Measurements: H 63 cm, 58 cm without the base.
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1857, *MB* 16, pl. 28: Narcisso; Niccolini 1862 (2), pl. 15: un Pane o un Bacco; Brunn 1863, 92–93 in *BdI*: Bacco, ideato forse in atto di scherzare con una pantera; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 553; Ruesch 1908, 202–203, no. 817; Dwyer 1982, 53–54; Wohlmayr 1989, 45, 112, no. 21; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 221, no. GFV 34.
Description: A naked youth stands with his weight on his left foot. His body forms a slight S-curve; he wears dress parade boots[487] decorated with floral patterns, carries a nebris on his left shoulder, a goat's skin with hoofs and small horns on the head, tied with a knot on left shoulder; he is touching his waist with his left hand fingertips, thumb and little finger apart; his right arm is bent, the index finger pointed; he inclines his head down and left; his hair is curly and short with a modest ivy wreath with clusters of berries.
Dating: Roman (Flavian?) copy of a Hellenistic original.

H14 Overbeck – Mau 1884, frontispiece.

[486] Schröder 1989, 64: parallel to this group is in Rome, but only partially preserved.

[487] Goldman 1994, 102 fig. 6.1 W, 123–125.

Comments: The male's apparel and the position of the right-hand fingers identifies the bronze as Bacchus dangling a bunch of grapes above a panther. The iconographic formula is also known from wall paintings in Pompeii.

H15 Male statue
Location: I 17,2 cubiculum next to the fauces, P 11864.
Excavation: 1957.
Condition: The original base preserved only under the right foot.
Measurements: H 96 cm, W 37 cm.
Bibliography: Elia 1961, 1–3; Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 79–80; Wohlmayr 1989, 35, 46, 112, no. 27; Conticello 1992, 264, 266–267, no. 187.[488]
Description: A naked youth stands with his weight on his right foot. In his right hand he holds a small conical amphora from the handle, with its mouth downwards; the left arm is bent and he originally held a thyrsus in his hand; the head is tilted slightly to the right; he gazes downwards with eyes made of ivory and brown coloured glass paste; the hair is parted in the middle above the forehead, then drawn undulating back to a complex hairstyle, with ringlets in various directions; above his forehead are two clusters of ivy berries with leaves, and more large leaves at the back of his head are tied with long ribbons, *lemnisci*, which end in front on his chest.

H15 Pompeii, inv. 11864.

Dating: First century AD (Flavian).
Comments: This is another young Bacchus looking absentmindedly elsewhere, and not fully occupied with the activity he is engaged in. He is pouring wine for a panther, and is perhaps intoxicated himself, as indicated by the position of his legs and the left hand, which once held a thyrsus tightly. The hairstyle may be inspired by Isiac counterparts.[489]

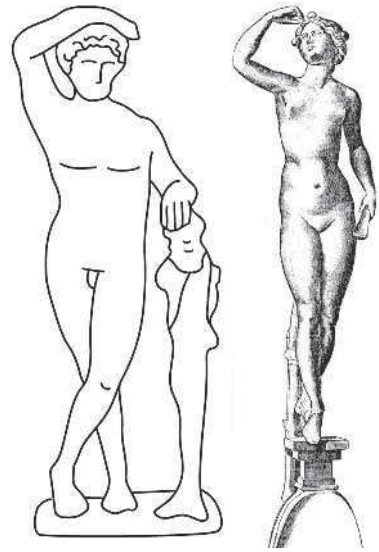
H16 Male statuette
Location: Shop, IX 7,11, to the left of the entrance, P inv.(?).
Excavation: 1912.
Condition: Corroded.
Measurements: H 18 cm.
Bibliography: Della Corte 1912 (*NSA*), 334–335: Apollo in riposo;[490] Schröder 1989, 138–139, Taf. 12, no. G 1: Bacchus, possibly decoration of a chariot.
Description: A naked man stands with his weight on his left foot, with the right leg crossed. His abdominal and pectoral muscles are marked; he looks straight ahead, his wreathed hair is

[488] Conticello gives the house as I 18,2.

[489] Elia 1961, 2–3 suggested that the statue was a product of the eastern provinces.

[490] The statuette was discovered together with a dog and a cupid with Hercules' club.

curly and drawn back in a bun; he rests his right hand on top of his head and leans with his right elbow on a herm; in the middle of his shoulder blades there is tang for attachment. The bearded hip-herm wears a short chlamys across his torso.
Dating: Second half of the first century BC.
Comments: This is a unique Pompeian instance, with Bacchus leaning on a herm depicting Silenus. His more usual support was either a short column or Silenus himself. The legs crossed position is rare in Pompeii, but is known from the wall painting from the Villa dei Misteri F19. Arm raised above the head is presented also in the terracotta H9, and is shown already ca. 300 BC in a bronze strigilis depicting a female figure from Palestrina;[491] from the same place comes another strigilis with the legs crossed position.[492] Dionysus himself is depicted in this position in an earlier Apulian vase ca. 350 BC.[493]



H16 The Bacchus (Pompeii) has the same position as a female in a bronze strigilis from Palestrina (Medio repubblicana 273, no. 419).

H17 Statuette of a child
Location: Casa del Gemmario, II 9,2, room 4 (atrium), lararium, P 40170.
Excavation: 1986.
Condition: Intact except the object in the right hand missing.
Measurements: H 14.4 cm, base 1.9 cm, D base 6.4 cm.
Bibliography: Sodo 1987, 158; Sodo 1988, 200; Fröhlich 1991, 358; Sodo 1992, 140–141, no. 5; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 216, no. GFV 14; King 2002, 440.
Description: A plump child stands on a circular profiled base. His weight is on his right foot, and the toes of his left foot touch the base; he wears high boots decorated with leaves, and a nebris with silver damascene is tied on his left shoulder; his lowered right arm probably held a vessel; in his raised left hand he holds a thyrsus ending in a pine cone made of silver; his neck is short, his face round with chubby cheeks, small mouth and small nose; his pupils are marked with dots; his countenance is cheerful, and he looks into the distance; his curly hair reaches his shoulders, and is drawn back with a fillet decorated with ivy leaves and clusters of berries. A half-sitting panther with silver damascene lifts its left paw, while reaching for the (now missing) vessel.
Dating: First century AD.
Comments: The Bacchus statuette was discovered together with a terracotta herm inspired by the classic depiction of Alexander, and another bronze statuette of Fortuna. This standing child belongs to the group called by Manfrini-Aragno 'Bacchus Eros.'[494] A near parallel was acquired

[491] *Medio repubblicana* 274–275, no. 419.

[492] *Medio repubblicana* 286, no. 424.

[493] Trendall 1989, 83, fig. 168.

[494] Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 120. The hairstyle resembles that of a cupid.

in Naples, originally perhaps from Pompeii, and is now in the British museum; it portrays a reverse pose, with the goat skin covering only the left arm.[495] In general, the statuettes discovered in *lararia* were mostly made of bronze.[496] There is another "child Bacchus" that is not accepted here as Bacchus, because of the lack of specific identifying attributes.[497] – The lararia were the innermost religious places in a household, and literary sources indicate that their sculptures had more religious significance than their paintings.[498]

H17 Pompeii, inv. 40170. A bigger bronze statuette is in the British museum, inv. 1977,0217.1.

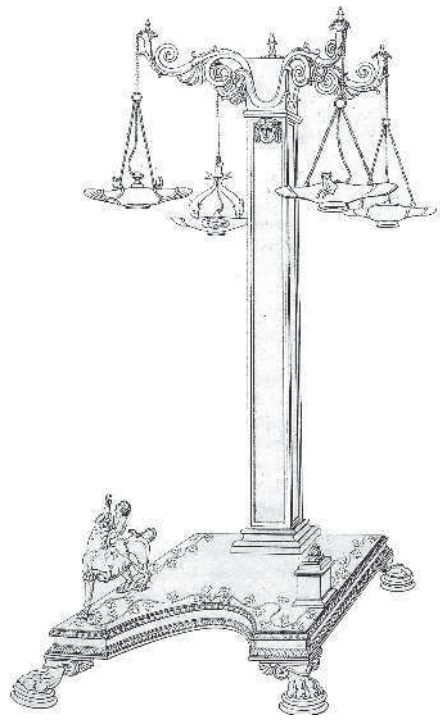
H18 Lampstand
Location: Casa di Pansa, VI 6,1, portico in peristyle *a*, MANN 4563 (73 000) discovered together with the group of male statues H13 above.
Excavation: 1813.
Condition: Entire, but the panther's tail is broken and the four lamps are a later addition, even if ancient. Corrosion on the pillar.
Measurements: H 121 cm, W 58 cm. H of the Bacchus riding a panther 20 cm.
Bibliography: Tavarone *MB* 2, pl. 13: picciol Bacco,…o un Genio di questo Nume; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 435–436, no. 233e; Ruesch 1908, 371–371, no. 1649: un puttino cavalcante una pantera; Jashemski 1993, 127–128: a bronze lampstand attached to which was a small statuette of Bacchus riding a leopard… now dismantled; Roberts 2013, 228, 230–231, figs. 268–269: Bacchus riding a panther.
Description: An elaborate lampstand with a quadrangular base and pillar for hanging four lamps. The base is cut on one short end with a semi-circular recess, and the profiled borders are decorated with two astragals; the corners are supported by lion's paws on top of circular profiled bases, and attached to the base with volutes and semipalmettes on each side; an ivy creeper is engraved in silver

[495] Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 121, fig. 234; BM inv. 1977, 0217.1, Bronze 1327: H. 47 cm; Walters 1915, 3, pl. 54.

[496] Kauffmann-Heinimann 2007, 155: 85 of 110 statuettes; Fröhlich 1991, 356-358 Katalogbeilage 6: 'Statuetten aus dem Hauskult' has an abbreviation Tk for terracotta and Ma for marble, if made of bronze nothing; Bronze in this kind of research is synonymous with 'copper-alloy', because there are no physical or chemical analyses, see e.g. a review of Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, Hoffmann 2001, n. 1 (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2001.02.23).

[497] Ruesch 1908, 375, no. 1678 considered that a child with elaborate hairstyle and holding a torch (MANN 5008) published by Bernardo Quaranta 1831, *MB* 7, pl. 15, could be a child Bacchus. Quaranta does not give this identification; Milliet 1905, 365, pl. 3 fig. 2 refers to an infant under Dionysiac influence.

[498] Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007, 189–191, 192–193.



H18 Original drawing G. Maldarelli, MB 2, 13.

on top of the base, around the semicircle and down the long sides; on the opposite sides near the semicircle there is an altar with a profiled base, walls decorated with damascene flowers, and burning firewood on top, and a naked and wreathed child riding astride a panther. His left hand rests on the back of the animal and originally held the reins, now lost, while he lifts a rhyton in his right hand; his hair is longish, and he looks up, past the object in his hand. The panther lifts her left foreleg and rears her head to the left, with her mouth open; her tail is curved with its tip touching her back; her neck is incised with an ivy garland, and her skin is mottled with black spots. On the opposite end of the semi-circular recess stands the pillar with its profiled base, all sides decorated with frames; on top of the shaft, a mask with longish hair adorned with a wreath is watching the events on top of the base; on the opposite side is a bucranium. The complex capital of the pillar consists of four lamps, each with two nozzles, hanging down on their respective chains from sprigs in the shape of volutes; the chains of three of the lamps treble, to keep the lamp properly balanced; the first of the lamps is decorated with two eagles and the nozzles with shells, the second with the front halves of two bulls, the third is plain without any animal decoration; the triple chain of the fourth lamp is substituted with three dolphins beaks downwards, and the sides of the reservoir are decorated with elephant heads. The topmost element of each volute sprig is in the shape of a calyx, protecting the bud-like element. A similar separate object is also placed on top of the pillar in the middle.

Dating: First century AD.

Comments: This lamp has both a religious and a practical purpose. The pictorial programme of the lamp is quite obviously dedicated to Bacchus – the child riding a panther, the mask, the bull as one of his characteristic animals, all speak for this. Choosing a child Bacchus was relatively original due to his rare appearance in visual arts in general, but it may share the idea of growth and fertility with a rhyton, a she-panther, not to omit the idea of light in the worship of Bacchus. Perhaps this lampstand was used for private worship. On the practical side, the asymmetrical placement of the pillar made more space for a vessel with oil for filling the lamps.[499]

H19 Male bust

Location: House I 13,5, cubiculum south of atrium, among other bronzes by an *armarium*, P 11471.

Excavation: 1957.

[499] Tavarone 2–3.

Condition: Intact
Measurements: H 18.3 cm, W 13.5 cm.
Bibliography: Elia 1961, 3–5: Dioniso chtonio; Turcan 1966, 522–523: Dionysos-Sabazios; Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 49, no. 1, fig. 3: Bacchus or Priapus; Cicirelli 1992, 136–137, no. 3: Dionysus-Sabazius.
Description: A male bust rises from a rosette with eight angular and punctuated petals; he wears a nebris[500] over the left shoulder, with small horns and hooves hanging over his stomach; his arms are bent, his right palm is empty, while in the left he holds a poppy; his thick neck is made of a separate piece, his head is turned slightly upwards, and his face is elongated, with a beard cut in an oval shape and the long moustache forming volutes downwards; his mouth is large, with full lips, his nose is straight, and eyes with eyebrows are clearly marked; the pupils made of glass paste have been lost; his gaze is intent; the hair is parted in the middle and drawn back, forming a knot at the nape, with two corkscrew curls behind the ears; the hair is decorated with a fillet with multiple rosettes (stylized bunches of berries) with silver damascene and wine leaves; on the top of his head there is a complex modius-like kalathos, bursting with grapes, figs, and other fruits, cereals, and a roundish cake.
Dating: A copy of a Hellenistic, probably Egyptian, original, made in the first century BC in the Orient.[501]
Comments: This is a very peculiar piece of art with various connotations, possibly signifying *anodos*,[502] the emergence of a divinity, identified as Bacchus by many of his attributes. The torso, arms, and the head are all in different scales making it look even more peculiar. The leaf-like attachments around the waist probably signify that the lower body was made of another material e.g. wood for the baton. Bacchus was assimilated with Sabazius already in the Hellenistic East. This elaborate headgear differs from the more modest headgear in the wall painting A2.[503] – Elia already pointed out the chtonic aspect of this Bacchus.

The references to the original locations of these seven bronzes refer to spaces inside the houses, twice a cubiculum, once a room in the upper floor, a lararium in an atrium, a shop, and twice in the same garden peristyle. In addition to their decorative function, some also served utilitarian purposes, but there is no difficulty in seeing a religious meaning in these bronzes.[504] The objects as such cover classicizing pieces and imported

[500] Elia 1961, 5 believes it is a goat's skin instead of the more usual fawn.

[501] Elia 1961, 5.

[502] Elia 1961, 4.

[503] Sebesta – Bonfante 1994, 166, shows a modius, as polos is sometimes called in research literature, with a central rosette.

[504] De Caro 1999, 127, emphasizes the role of Bacchus in Pompeian religion, claiming that there are many statuettes in the lararia in the Vesuvian cities; he gives only one example, a bronze from Herculaneum, MANN 5009. It appears from the *Inventario generale* of bronze objects in the Archaeological Museum of Naples and from its photo collection that the most popular subjects of statuettes in the lararia were Hercules, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Minerva, Lares, and several others – not, however, Bacchus.

ones, and child Bacchus appears in appropriately small size both in the lampstand and as an independent statuette, a rarity from a lararium. Whatever the size, Bacchus is attending to his usual interests, such as being inebriated, dangling grapes, pouring wine from a cantharus, even riding a panther. Freestanding statues of Bacchus are extremely rare, whether in marble or bronze.

Bone H20

H20 Shaft
Location: House I 13, 8, by tablinum, P 11492a.
Excavation: 1955.
Condition: Chipped in places, e.g. youth's torso.
Measurements: H 11 cm, diam. max. 4.6 cm.
Bibliography: *Homo faber* 120, no. 72.
Description: A tube-like object with figures all around, engraved in high relief. There are two compositions, the first of which portrays two frontal figures standing; the one on the left is a youth with his weight on his right foot; the cloak completely covers his right leg, but only the left side of his groin; his toes are marked with linear incisions on top of the ring-like base of the object; his navel and pectorals are also marked; his neck is longish, and his head is slightly turned to the left; the curly hair is drawn back, with long wisps covering his shoulders and a fillet across his forehead; the facial features are carefully rendered, and he looks absent-minded; his right arm hangs down at the back of his torso, and with his left arm he tightly embraces the shorter figure beside him. He is completely naked, and stands on a longish stone with his feet (or hooves) marked and legs apart; his knees are prominent, and genitals, stomach, and pectorals clearly marked; his head is tilted to the right, with his facial features clearly rendered; his hair is short, and on top of his head there are two long ridged horns; he carries a cloak on his left elbow. Below the two figures, the base is in the shape of a torus, and above are two incised rings. The second composition depicts a panther lying on top of a high altar with his hind quarters raised.
Dating: First century AD.
Comments: Another depiction of an inebriated Bacchus supported by his faithful companion. The two compositions together point to the wine having been already consumed, not only by the divinity but also by the panther. The exception to the canon are the Pan's long straight horns. The object could be the handle of a mirror.

Glass H21

H21 Panel
Location: From excavation soil in between Porta Marina and Insula Occidentalis, outside Casa di Marcus Fabius Rufus VII 16,17.20–22, MANN 152652.
Excavation: 1960.
Condition: In fragments, restored in places.

H21 Cameo glass panel MANN 152652.

Measurements: H ca. 25 cm, W 40 cm, D 0.7–1 cm.
Bibliography: Maiuri 1961, 18–23: inserted in the walls of a triclinium; Bianchi Bandinelli 1969, 203–204, 206–207, 407; Gasparri 1986, 554 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 188; De Caro 1999, 108, 110[505]; Scatozza Höricht 2003, 33–35: decorated probably a wooden casket; Vatin 2004, 92–93.
Description: A rectangular cameo glass, white on a blue background, with a composition of five figures, framed by a vine and a double column. On the left, an effeminate youth is standing with his weight on his right foot; he leans with his left arm, covered with a sleeve, on a short column, and holds a twig in his hand; his legs are covered by a himation; his right hand is raised to the top of his head, and a thyrsus with a pine cone and ribbons rests on his shoulder; his head is in ¾ profile, and wreathed with large ivy leaves and korymboi, and his curls fall onto his shoulders; he looks with languid eyes to his left, where a satyr points with his right hand fingers to his left. By the satyr's right leg hangs the tail of a nebris, and he holds a pedum in his left hand and on top of his shoulder; he looks alertly back towards his master; his head is depicted in profile, the ears are pointed and the hair tousled. On the right, a semi-recumbent female with a cloak over her legs and left arm, sleeping on stone slabs of different levels; her tilted head, in profile, rests against a column, and she supports it with a raised right hand; her hair is tied with a ribbon, and her eyes are closed. Cupids float on both sides of the satyr; the one in the left holds a rhyton in his right hand and balances a small basket on top of his head with his left hand; the other cupid holds a torch-like object and possibly a twig. A calyx krater stands on the ground to the left, and under the female's resting place is an oval object: a stone or a tympanon.
Dating: First half of the first century AD (Augustan).[506]
Comments: This scene is of the appearance of a youthful Bacchus to a sleeping Ariadne, in a complex setting full of details. The scene customarily takes place outdoors, and the columns may signify a sanctuary.[507] The high-level of workmanship is shown by the different countenances, expressing different emotions ranging from alertness to languidness to drowsiness. The details of the human bodies, however, have caused difficulties for the engraver; the fingers, palms, and toes are out of proportion. From the same context comes another cameo glass panel depicting Ariadne with Silenus and a maenad. Both were allegedly used as wall decorations, portraying a sequence in the myth of Bacchus and Ariadne. This ambitious composition is well known

[505] The picture is unfortunately presented as a mirror image.

[506] Whitehouse 1991, 19.

[507] Vatin 2004, 92–93, interprets the event as a hierogamy between Bacchus and Ariadne. This seems somewhat premature taking into consideration the initial phase of the courtship.

from the wall paintings, and here follows their iconography, but the space is crammed with figures and details. The Fourth style wall paintings of the House of Fabius Rufus are of a later period than these glass works, so these valuable objects must have originated elsewhere. There are several Roman vessels made with this cameo technique and depicting Bacchic scenes, e.g. a Parthian skyphos known also as the Getty cup, and the Portland vase, both of which depict the reclining female with a raised hand as the central figure.[508]

Representations of Bacchus in other media and sculpted forms were apparently not very popular in Pompeii, with only 21 cases accepted into this catalogue. As to the iconography, in most cases the Hellenistic features were followed, but Etruscan and Italic influence emerged in the early examples. Proportionally there are more bearded as well as child Bacchi compared to the ratios in wall paintings. There is the usual entourage represented by satyrs, Venus, and Ariadne, although maenads are absent. The identification is mostly indisputable in our cases. If the ears are not visible, there is always the possibility of an alternative identification as a satyr.

Kaufmann-Heinimann's Appendix 1 of bronzes in the Vesuvian lararia identifies only five Bacchic figures out of nearly one hundred statuettes.[509] The scarcity of representations of Bacchus has been seen as sign of his minor role in domestic religion, and not being one of the main gods of the house. Even the wall painting images in *lararia* are more often from other locations than the *atria*.[510] Even if Bacchus was not favoured in the lararia, our list of sculptures shows that he was an important figure otherwise in the households, and may reflect private interest in this divinity. Known exceptions on the public level were the temple pediment of Bacchus, and the theatre entrance and the fountain head. The statue at the back of the temple of Isis was a private donation; the Liber-inscription from the temple of Venus must have been attached to a statue, further verifying the significance of Bacchus in connection with another important cult in Pompeii. Whatever the function of the sculptures and objects of the minor arts, the common feature is their small size. The size of garden statues for their part correlate with the size of the gardens for which they were intended, as the gardens in Pompeii were small.[511]

[508] Whitehouse 1991, 25; The Getty Skyphos 84.AF.85; The Portland Vase BM 1945,0927.1.

[509] Kauffmann-Heinimann 2007, 155, n. 31, she writes that the total amount of divine statuettes is 97, but in Figure 5 the sum is 99; Kauffmann-Heinimann 1998, table 1. Her Bacchic statuettes are in fact Priapus, Pan, or a satyr; only one is Bacchus.

[510] Adamo-Muscettola 1984, 10–11. Most of these are located in kitchens or servants' quarters in houses.

[511] Farrar 2000, 103.

9. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the many ways in which Bacchus was portrayed in Pompeian works of art is discussed. Light is shed on the divinity's physical appearance, clothing, attributes, companions, associated myths, and the contexts his image was found in; the locations are discussed from three viewpoints. In the beginning of this chapter the placement inside or outside a room, and in what type of room, and later in this chapter finally according to houses and regions. Also painters and different hands that portrayed him are discussed. My material consists of 149 (though one not probably Bacchus) entries for wall paintings, and 21 sculptures and other kinds of works of art. Sometimes Bacchus is depicted more than once in a particular instance, so our final number of his depictions is thus 174.

Physical Appearance

Bacchus seems to be represented in all the stages of his life, from infant to young(ish) adult to more advanced age - in accordance to the use of the term "bearded" in a somewhat simplified manner, even if the question is mostly of archaistic style rather than age. In the wall paintings, the three age groups are divided unequally, the most common being the young man in good physical condition, whereas in sculptures and minor arts the three age groups are more in balance. The youthful Bacchus is confused with many figures, including Mercury and Apollo, with a similar appearance; a fully clothed figure may indeed be difficult to classify and differentiate from maenads, and sometimes even Ariadne, and has been aptly described by others as lyric, sacral, or Sapphic. Even his sex is not always clear. Already in Greece, the young Dionysus was sometimes depicted as effeminate (Cf. Main iconographical types), a convention not unknown later in Pompeii. As a sparsely clothed figure with obvious breasts he indeed resembles a hermaphrodite; however, being represented as drunken and leaning on Silenus is the most common motif, and is more usual for Bacchus than a hermaphrodite. The second motif with sometimes differing interpretations is the discovery of a sleeping figure. Here the contents are decisive. Finally, the bearded Bacchus for his part is easy to confuse with several other figures, especially when depicted as a statue. Alternative identifications are mainly Priapus and Mercury; my criteria for the identification as Bacchus has been that he is represented as a non-ithyphallic figure, and the presence of a thyrsus in the depiction.

Bacchus is occasionally depicted with a strong jaw line. This is obvious in the keystone of the theatre (H5), the votive stela (H2), and two wall paintings (C15, D2). The portrayal with horns, although in general rare in Roman art, are understandable through the divinity's connection with oxen: he was called Taurocephalus, Tauraphagus, and Tauromorphus. The horns described in many passages in Latin literature also

appear in Pompeian art, and my catalogues now offer an updated list of examples of Bacchus with horns: B20, E7, F32, and H10. This feature is associated with a young, and sometimes even effeminate, Bacchus: Ariadne discovered by Bacchus with horns in the Casa del Citarista (E7) may refer to a passage by Philostratus, and to a similar painting: "…the ivy clusters forming a crown are the clear mark of Dionysus, … and a horn just springing from the temples reveals Dionysus."[512] The horns are always small, often colourful, and nearly crescent-shaped. They also seem to appear in other types of Bacchic sculpture: a double herm now lost was equipped with horns, at least on Bacchus' young head (P20397).

As a Statue in Wall Paintings

In 24 entries, Bacchus is represented as a statue within an architectural structure, on a pedestal, as a herm, or as a reproduction of the well-known Praxitelian Hermes. In these cases, the paint colours indicate the depicted materials: yellow for gilded bronze or white for marble. Almost all of these statues are drawn in a smaller scale, and some are inserted into sacral landscapes, mythological scenes such as the punishment of Dirce, or gardens. In section A of my catalogue the statues are bearded, archaistic, and seemingly fully robed. That is also the case for the statue as a secondary figure, with an inebriated young Bacchus as the main figure (D4). The archaistic features remain quite limited in Pompeii. Bacchus as a (bearded) herm in wall paintings may be easily confused with Priapus or generic herms, and its identification in general has been most unsecure. The herms were small in size and sketch-like in their rendering. Priapus and Bacchus-statues or herms do appear in the same paintings (A1, G13), in which the herm is not clearly identifiable, but the draped statue carries an infant Bacchus. As an object of worship, Bacchus was also represented sporadically as a terracotta figurine, or a bronze statuette in a lararium, and all his age types were used. The wall paintings are mainly sacral landscapes; a very special case is the nightly(?) offering scene with an infant Bacchus (G13).

A statue of Bacchus in a sacral landscape appears also in the only floor mosaic in this catalogue (A14). Bacchus is presented as a robed statue made of bronze and indicated with yellow, not as an explicit figure in a myth, but rather as an object of cult with his many well-known attributes. The main composition of the same mosaic with a lion and cupids is thematic, as it implicitly shows the power of love and wine in a triclinium.

[512] Philostr. *Imag.* 1,15. Translated by A. Fairbanks (London 1931); Lochi 2005, 99.

Clothing

It is not only the attributes of Bacchus that vary, but also his apparel, not to mention the degree of his nakedness. I classified as naked figures those who carry a cloak thrown over the arm(s), or with a cloak covering the legs (e.g. C18), or wearing a band across the chest (B5, B7, B8). I have defined as half-naked figures those with a cloak that covers either the torso or the lower body; the half-naked Bacchus has several subtypes, depending on what specific parts of the body were covered. Of these figures, some wore a cloak or a hide (nebris or pardalis), or exceptionally a pardalis could be the only garment (C13). Bacchus as fully robed, which is the primary archaistic type, wore a long chiton, folded, gathered or belted, and a large cloak, while some young Bacchi wore either a short or a long tunic with the cloak (C19, D2, E3, E7). The divinity is depicted as *velificans* in the epiphany to Ariadne (e.g. E3, E7, E13). As to the colours of Bacchus' apparel, no predilection for any particular colour has been discerned.

Bacchus' head is most often covered with a wreath of tied ivy or vine, with discernible differences being the sizes of the wreaths and the presence or lack of the korymboi. A simple ribbon may be used as a substitute, and some variation is also seen in the use of a cap (F5), not dissimilar to the one worn by the little satyr boy (F3), and even in the portrayal of elaborate hairstyles (e.g. D2 possibly a mural crown, and H15) and modius (A2, H19). Most often, his long curly hair falls freely onto his shoulders, or else is drawn back, forming a bun. The Romans were aware of the similarity between Bacchus and Apollo. The poet Tibullus referred to their eternal youth and their uncut curls in his first book of elegies (1,4,37–38): … *Solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas, nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum.* Their divine standing could be emphasized by a halo (nimbus), even if it cannot be proved to have been used in Pompeii with full certainty, as is suggested for the wall painting F13, now destroyed.

In general Bacchus is barefooted, but sandals also appear e.g. in paintings (C11, E3). Calf-high dress parade boots, (*calcei*, a cross between a sandal and a boot) are seen for example in paintings (B5, C13, D2) and in sculpture, sometimes decorated with flowers and even animal heads. The terrain does not seem to effect the choice of the footwear.

Attributes

Recognizing Bacchus in artworks may be challenging without the presence of specific attributes, and sometimes even with them. The reason for this is the pluralistic nature of the figure. In our material, Bacchus appears with a plethora of attributes, the most characteristic being the thyrsus and cantharus. The standard thyrsus is the type with a bunch of leaves and ribbons on top. There are some with a bunch of leaves on both ends,

while those with pine cones on top are rare. Exceptions used in place of the thyrsus include objects such as sceptres, torches, or rod-like staffs, or even pedums.

The cantharus, a cup dedicated to drinking wine, had a moulded foot, stem, deep bowl, and two high vertical handles, and is held by Bacchus in many different ways. In the oldest depiction from the temple pediment, he grips it by the stem, similar to the anomalous painting now in the British Museum, although there the cup is without handles. Most often he holds the cantharus by the handle, especially when he absentmindedly pours wine onto or for the panther. The rhyton is an alternative drinking cup, appearing in rare cases, in addition to the indefinite shapes of some chalices. The cantharus can also be held by his companions, satyrs or maenads, or even Priapus, once again making the identification of Bacchus a challenge. When standing alone, he seems to more often hold a patera, the shallow offering bowl, and in one case he holds a jug in the company of Mercury and lares. In addition to these vessels, wine is also associated in one case with a container, a barrel, which was still rarely used in the first century AD. Indirect references to flowing wine appear in the shape of water, which flows from a fountain or other sculpture depicting Bacchus in the gardens; more usually, this task was performed by silens or satyrs with their wine skins, however they do not appear in our material.

The vine and a bunch of grapes as such are also inevitable attributes of our divinity, and he is quite physically connected to bunches of grapes in numerous cases. Grapes appear on his head (H3, H4), in his hands (e.g. B7, H1), in connection to the panther (e.g. C3, C5, C12, C15), and as an object of interest for the infant Bacchus (e.g. G1, G2, G10, G15). My catalogue show that the bunches of grapes as Bacchus' attribute are much more frequent than formerly thought. A unique case comes from the Casa del Centenario (C17), where he is fully covered with grapes, an image conceivably associated with viticulture, especially as the owner of the house perhaps sold wine in the next door caupona. In his well-known epigram, Martial wrote (4,44,3–4) of the divinity's deep affection for the slopes of Mount Vesuvius compared to those of the distant Mount Nysa, where he was raised: *Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius umbris, presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus: haec iuga quam Nysae colles plus Bacchus amavit; hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros*. These lines have been interpreted as literary proof for a special connection between Bacchus and the Pompeian vineyards on Vesuvius.

Companions

His trusted companions were panthers and satyrs, mainly the old Silenus. The two are often partners in drinking wine, along with a panther. Bacchus himself is not actually shown drinking, but he often seems to have had his fair share, and is sometimes clearly inebriated. This is shown by some of his gestures, such as looking absentmindedly into the distance, raising his right arm on top of his head, or being obviously in need of a

support because his legs have lost their strength. In the latter case, depending on the size of the satyr/Silenus, Bacchus either leans on his comrade's shoulder, or is embraced by the waist, or steadied from the back.

The she-panther as a companion appears in all the stages of Bacchus' life: the child Bacchus is shown riding the animal both in wall paintings and sculpture, while the animal is shown being given wine or fed on grapes by the young Bacchus, and a content-looking panther is shown lying by a bearded Bacchus, although only once in sculpture (H8). As a more passive companion, the panther is sometimes added as a mere attribute, but has not always survived till this day; Bacchus' posture sometimes indicates, however, that a panther must have once been part of the composition. Its size and sex varies, and it may even be a cub. Originally it seems to have been represented with spots in wall paintings, and later bronze sculpture. In the pediment H1 the artist portrayed the animal quite skilfully, but in the early stela H2 it resembles a dog. A special case is the mangy panther in F16, with a wreath wrapped around its body. Sometimes the panther sits quietly by his master, but may also be actively begging for attention. In two cases, a boy satyr and a panther are in opposite roles: in F9 he is given grapes and the panther wine, while in F4 he is given wine while the panthers tries to get his attention. In general, the panther is recognizable as such. Of the other animals portrayed, goats may be represented as part of sacral landscapes, and oxen may draw chariots, as do a pair of panthers.

Bacchus' usual entourage consists of various individuals including satyrs, Pan, and maenads. In general, Pan is in an auxiliary role filling out the composition, but in rare cases a satyr boy is substituted (F18), or Silenus is shown as the figure supporting Bacchus (E12), or he is represented as a statue (D4, D5). The size of the thiasus varies from a couple individuals to more than ten persons, with the largest retinue being in the scenes of the discovery of Ariadne. On the other hand, the number of maenads is surprisingly small. Triumphal chariots, for their part, appear in two cases (D14, G11), showing the thiasus now enlarged with dancers and musicians. Bacchus himself never plays an instrument, and Silenus is most often the musician, his instruments varying from a cithara to a lyre, tambourine, or crotales. Satyrs rarely play an instrument, but if they do, then they play a lyre or aulos. Thyrsi and wreaths may be carried by any of the members of the entourage.

Bacchus portrayed together with a female is a common subject. She is identified as Venus in the oldest work of art in our catalogue, the pediment H1, and as the third figure with Jupiter in F25, but there is an iconographic problem in differentiating between Libera and Venus in Pompeii, if there are indeed any differences. Another identification that poses a problem is that between Ariadne and maenads. The more explicitly rendered event is the discovery of Ariadne on the shore with Theseus' ship seen sailing away on the horizon; the somewhat problematic cases take place inland, and the discoverer without the thiasus, but the presence of a thyrsus convinced me to identify the protagonists as Bacchus and Ariadne. She is usually either half naked, or one

of the divinity's companions is shown raising her cloak in wonderment. The most common helper in this task is a cupid, depicted thrice, or twice a satyr, or once Pan. In my material, its earliest appearance is in the Second style (E4), with four entries in the Third style (E1, E5, E6, E14), and the remaining fifteen cases belonging to the Fourth style. The case of E20 is somewhat different, as Ariadne is already awake but Theseus' ship is still visible in the horizon. E21 shows a further development of their meeting. This popular subject in wall paintings is supplemented by one cameo glass (H21). In some paintings in my catalogue a more fully robed female has been regarded, on account of her posture, as a dignified Ariadne rather than a maenad (D4, D5), while in D6 her calm posture and the amorous embrace are the reasons for identifying her as Ariadne.

F20 Bacchus and Mercury in the façade of the building used by the cult community of Sabazius., Pompeii (GFN).

Mercury is shown accompanying a young Bacchus in paintings either as one of only two figures, or as part of a larger company, in paintings on an outer wall (F20), in a commercial space (F23), and in lararia (F21, F22). Mercury is also the preferred choice when representing a divinity carrying the child Bacchus in the Praxitelian style (e.g. G4, G5), although replaced elsewhere by a satyr. Fortuna (D7, H17) and Vesta (F24) were very rare companions, and an intoxicated Hercules appears twice (F26, F27). In broader combinations of divinities, Bacchus may appear as an occasional addition. Bacchus as the protector of the theatre is known, oddly enough, from only one painting, portraying actors preparing for the performance (F30). Less direct references to theatre are the scene-images of the Fourth style (F15, F18), in accordance with the general tendencies of that style.

Greek Myths and Roman History

The most common myth depicting Bacchus was the discovery of Ariadne, while other Greek myths remain exceptional. Lycurgus, the king of Thrace who persecuted Bac-

chus, is referred to twice: indirectly in painting, in which Bacchus flees into the water to be saved by the nymph Thetis in her undersea grotto (F28). This motif is without parallels in Pompeii. In the other reference, only an enraged male is now preserved, and shown next to a panther (F29), but Bacchus has never been visible due to the damaged state of the painting. Paintings referring to persecutors of Bacchus occur seldom, and leave room for interpretation. Some isolated paintings may refer to the Indian triumph of Bacchus, but with no specific references to India (F31 with a tropaeum and a prisoner of war, G11 with a triumphal chariot). Two paintings refer to Hercules, the first with an elaborate composition of Hercules as the slave of the Lydian queen Omphale (F26), the other a certamen bibendi between Bacchus and Hercules (F27). The childhood of Bacchus (G15) is shown as a simplified version of the Herculanean painting MANN 9270, with no proper reference to Mount Nysa; also, all the other childhood scenes concentrate on the figures, without the painter showing any interest in portraying the background. Narcissus, one of the most popular mythological figures in Pompeii, makes an appearance just once with a statue of Bacchus (A7). The story of the punishment of Dirce, a dedicated worshipper of Bacchus, is told in two episodes on either side of a sacred gate, and is overseen by a statue of Bacchus (A10).

G15 Casa dei Dioscuri (DAIR) is a typical simple Pompeian childhood depiction.

An event near the end of the Second Punic war, in 203 BC, is referred to twice in Pompeian wall paintings, one of which is connected to Bacchus. The event is well-documented in Greek and Latin sources: after the Roman victory in the battle of Cirta, the Punic woman Sophonisba was about to be transported from Africa to the triumph in Rome, but committed suicide by poisoning herself. Further in the background of the scene, in the garden are statues of Bacchus and Apollo (A11). Historical events are seldom depicted in Pompeian wall paintings, with the other known cases being the riot in the Pompeian amphitheatre in 59 AD (MANN 112222; Tac. *ann.* 14,17), and the Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun. In the wall painting A3 the painter may have been modelled on the historical person Iaia from Cyzicus.

The more elaborate painting from Herculaneum (MANN 9270) is a variant of G10. Drawing Reinach 105, 3 (RP 1922).

Locations

A topic of its own in this research has been determining what kind of built spaces made use of Bacchic wall paintings and sculptures. This problem was tackled from two viewpoints: that of private and public contexts. The specific use of a room is not always easy to determine, but I will use the conventional names. In residences, the atrium, triclinium, oecus, exedra, and tablinum were public rooms for entertaining and receiving guests. Cubiculum means a multifunctional secluded room, mainly situated around an atrium. Ala, for its part, means a room situated around an atrium with no separating walls. Kitchens are considered to be more private, used only for household purposes. The commercial spaces will be included here among public spaces such as temples, theatres, and façades in general.

According to my research, triclinia seem to be the most agreeable space for representations of Bacchus in private houses. Of the 147 entries in my wall painting catalogue, more than one-third of the paintings, which is by far the largest group, featured Bacchus in dining rooms or other representative areas, such as oecus and exedra. Two of these triclinia were for summer use and connected to garden. The only floor mosaic was discovered in a triclinium. Although other motifs were also used in these spaces, the triclinium was absolutely the most important space for Bacchus in Pompeii. As for the sculptures, their original positions are not precisely known, but the gardens and peristyles were the most popular choices in the cases where the whereabouts are known. Some terracottas were also visible as architectural parts, e.g. in an atrium (H9). In the more private areas, the child Bacchus seems to have been favoured as the decoration of cubicula, representing more than one-third of the Bacchic wall painting subjects in those rooms. As for the sculptures, the two with the very elaborate hair styles also come from cubicula (H15, H19).

In the wall paintings placed in public places frequented by many people, Bacchus appears in a bakery (E14), in a caupona or thermopolium (D8, D10, F21), and in the Stabian baths (C24), while the side room of Apollo's temple, allegedly a room for priests

(F13), may have been a semi-public space, also having an entrance from the peristyle of the temple. As for the sculptures, those made of tufa were most often public architectural elements, sometimes connected to religion or public welfare. The marble sculpture H6 was located in the temple of Isis, and there must have been a statue in the temple of Venus as well, as is shown by the inscription. Some façades were adorned with Bacchus, occasionally along with Mercury, and many of these were commercial buildings.

The paintings known in more in detail from interior rooms show that either the predellae or the upper zones were the most popular placement for Bacchus represented as a statue. In the main zones, Bacchus is sometimes represented in the central pictures, the sizes of which varied from tiny to very large, nearly two metres in height. The side fields of the central zones often represent Bacchus as a floating figure (B2, C4, D6). In façades, the paintings do not the follow the customary tripartite scheme of domestic spaces, and Bacchus is represented as an isolated figure. A special case with respect to the location is the lararium; in these Bacchus appears in an atrium (C14, C16, C17), garden (D7), kitchen (F22), and also in a thermopolium (F21). Bacchus was a rare choice for this context, and appeared either as an isolated figure or in various combinations. As to the lararium figurines, we have one in terracotta and another in bronze (H11, H17), the first from a garden, the other from an atrium.

Painters and Pattern Books

In this section, the choices of motifs, models, and painters are discussed. In my opinion, the selection occurred either through personal literary knowledge or interest in a theme – as seen for instance at a neighbour's house or some other place, or observed in an artist's studio or pattern book – or simply through one's own religious beliefs. Religious practices formed part of daily life, and sacrifices and prayers were common occurrences at home. Religion might certainly have played a role in choosing the subjects of paintings, and there must have been programmatic criteria in some cases as well. A mythological painting by a pictor imaginarius was a luxury item, and the copy of a well-known Greek painter's work found in a book of models was regarded as the best choice. Those patrons wishing for a higher social status chose paintings adapted from suitable Greek models, and probably did not often think about a theoretical pictorial programmes.

It is evident that most artists had not seen original Greek paintings themselves, and worked with notebooks, collections, handbooks, and books of illustrations. We know from Pliny (*nat.* 36,39) of a collection of five books on the celebrated Greek masterpieces written by the sculptor Pasiteles for the Roman audience during the time of Julius Ceasar.[513] There are motifs quite obviously copied from pattern books in Pom-

[513] Ragghianti – Bridges, 24–28.

peian wall paintings, including individual separate figures and whole compositions. As examples, I would like to point out Bacchus as a standing separate figure (e.g. C5, D1, D7) completed with florals, a panther and/or other figures, and as a floating figure (e.g. D6). Standing Bacchus with a panther was such a common motif that it must have been painted more than once by the same painters. One case of a repeated detail is e.g. Bacchus jumping over Ariadne's legs (E3, E4, E6), and many others connected to the discovery of Ariadne. The Ariadne cycle as a whole is a very good example of a composition that was repeated and varied in numerous ways. A tired Bacchus supported by Silenus as a musician is a motif that was varied by the portrayal of different musical instruments. The depiction of the child Bacchus as a Praxitelian reproduction is another motif that occurred in varied fashion in Pompeii. Same features could appear both in painting and sculpture, such as the posture with crossed legs and right arm touching the head in F19 and H16.

It is interesting to realize that some painters freed themselves from Hellenistic manners, adding individual details such as the mangy panther wrapped in a wreath (F16). Local themes with an Italic flavour otherwise appear sparingly. Bacchus is shown with local craftsmen in an overall unusual painting (D2), and Mount Vesuvius is seen in the background in another extraordinary painting (C17), both referring to local scenery.

It has hard to believe that Pompeian painters did not try to copy each other's styles as Richardson stated.[514] The reality is certainly different; in a large house, several painters must have been working together, using apprentices and assistants for different phases, even for repairs. It is not uncommon that the Bacchi in a house were rendered by different hands, and a master could have painted several Bacchi on the walls of various houses. Painters have been identified and called according to "their" houses or motifs. To this list I would like to add the two paintings (E20, E21) from the Casa del Bracciale d'oro and the Casa di Achille; even if the latter is only known from a drawing, the style is so similar and the development of the motif is finely invented. The two other cases forming a pair are from the Casa di C. Iulius Polybius and the Casa del Principe di Napoli (B7, C9) where the individual lone standing figures are executed skilfully with a delicate hand. Normally, such lone figures did not require huge gifts taking for granted that painting individual figures did not cost as much.

The two mosaics (A14 and D16) come from different periods in Pompeii. The first, the emblema, with parallels from outside Pompeii, belongs to the older Hellenistic tradition and second style, while the fountain wall makes part of the transitional period to the fourth style, when mosaics decorated also the outer walls as waterproof elements. The scene by the fountain is basically an offering scene, even if the attention surely turns primarily to the divine couple, an image well known from the wall painting of Villa dei Misteri (D15); a period over one hundred years in between the two versions.

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[514] Richardson 2000, 13.

Religious Aspects

When attempting to identify a religious space within a home, one should note all the various markers of different private cults; in my research this includes both wall paintings and different mobile artefacts (H20), mainly sculptures, even if belonging to a lamp (H18), or other objects suitable for religious purposes (H19, H21). A special case is Bacchus represented as a statue in a sacral landscape, i.e. an idealized view of the countryside with religious motifs, in the form of small shrines, which are usually on a hillock or a cliff shaded by a tree. The deity could be represented as a statue or a herm, and other herms also surround the shrine or are placed near the statue. "In Roman mystery cults the sacro-idyllic landscape with herds of cattle became the image of the good life after death, to which one was granted access through the worship of Dionysus."[515]

On a private level the interest in Bacchus was obvious, as is shown by his presence in lararia, mostly as paintings, only rarely as a figurine. Private sacella do exist, the most important being an isolated room in House II 3,6 with an entrance through the garden and known from the longish graffito (pp. 51-52 and below), and another as a lararium enclosure (C17). In the House of Pansa the interest in Bacchus was keenly felt, both in the elaborate bronze lamp with a miniature altar, and the sculpture group of Bacchus and a satyr discovered together in the peristyle (H13, H18). Cult objects such as cista mystica are present in Pompeii, but are not directly connected with Bacchus, and appear as isolated objects in other zones of the wall paintings. Portrayals of the good afterlife that could be achieved through Bacchus are not easily perceived in the Pompeian material; the rare allusion might be the suicide of Sophonisba, or once again the epiphany of Bacchus to Ariadne, with its equivocal meaning.

Bacchus in a Broader Context

In the the first half of this chapter I presented my immediate observations on how Bacchus was portrayed in Pompeian works of art, and now I shall analyse Pompeian Bacchus in a broader context. My research belongs to the category of basic research, and the primary purpose was to establish simply how and why Bacchus was depicted in Pompeii through the centuries. This topic had not previously been studied extensively enough, although some previous incomplete lists of works of art do exist. My starting point was to make a comprehensive list of all the images of Bacchus in Pompeii, and that is why I initially assembled the two Appendices, with their topographical lists of wall paintings and sculptures as identified in the research literature. However, in my opinion some of the cases registered by former researchers are not actually portraits of Bacchus, and in addition so little information had been recorded about some others

[515] Moltesen 2002, 180.

that omitting them from my catalogues seemed justified. The descriptions in my wall painting catalogue were classified, firstly, according to the "age" category of the divinity, and secondly according to the types of companion(s) in the most numerous groups of depictions of Bacchus as a young man. I chose not to use the same structure in the catalogue of sculptures and minor arts, as the types of base materials are intrinsically important for these works of art.

In both catalogues, there are entries for which I had to rely on vague verbal descriptions made during the earlier centuries, which are sometimes unreliable in their details. The evidence provided by the drawings seemed to be, however, quite accurate, especially when they concentrated on the central pictures and not entire walls. This anomaly does not cause a problem here due to the numerous entries in my catalogue, proving the overall approaches to portraying Bacchus. My detailed descriptions were crucial for the understanding of the characteristic features of Pompeian Bacchus. In the course of my research it became obvious that in this context the sculpted herms had to be excluded, due to their very large number and repetitive nature, even if they were the most customary way of portraying Bacchus in sculpted form. I did refer to some of them, however, when needed. All the age types of Bacchus were represented in all of the different types of art included, so my conclusions even here were not affected by this omittance.

For our understanding the Pompeian divinity, the use and choice of his name was of interest. And yet, the total number of inscriptions with alternative names are regrettably limited in the Pompeian material, and had to be supplemented from other literary sources in the hope of establishing a more complete picture. Here the comparative method was used, to determine which elements and circumstances affected the portrayal of Pompeian Bacchus in a wider context. One point unfortunately remains obscure due to the lack of literary sources directly shedding light on Pompeii, and that is any causal relationships between the buyers and artists, and thus also the decision-making process and whether it was based on personal religious beliefs. To underpin my argumentation I had to examine not only Pompeii, but also the Greek - that is Hellenistic – Roman, and Italic features that may have affected Pompeian society in its relations to Bacchus, e.g. factors that might explain the changes in the cult through architecture and images. These descriptive and comparative procedures provided at least limited answers as to what Bacchus' cult was like, and consequently the (religious?) role of the divinity in Pompeian art, and to what degree the Hellenistic features differed from the Roman or Italic ones. Stimuli surely came from various directions over the course of time, and indisputably from the third century onwards, if not already two centuries earlier.

From Greece, either directly from the east or via southern Italy, came the mystery cults, with a need for privacy being one of their primary characteristics already in Classical Greece. In Campania, access to the large tomb from the mid-sixth century BC in Cumae was restricted to the initiated, who there awaited a good afterlife. In Rome,

the old Italic triad on the Aventine was Hellenized already in the early 3rd century BC at the latest, as is shown by the Greek rites of Ceres and the iconography of its cult image, but during the repression of the Bacchanals in the early second century Rome the unwanted mystery features were again suppressed. In Pompeii, there is however no evidence of repression. A few decades later, after the conquest of Corinth, Lucius Mummius donated a looted painting of Dionysus to the Aventine temple; this painting has even been considered to be a potential model for the painting with Bacchus' chariot in the Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto (D14), although without any proper evidence.

H2 The panther looking more like a dog.

Contacts with the Etruscans are verified in the pediment sculpture of the temple (H1), which was perhaps even crafted by an Etruscan master. There are also indigenous Italic features evident in my material, even if sparse. The votive stela of the divinity with his dog-like panther – doubtless a more familiar animal to the artist – made of local tufa is the oldest case (H2), and roughly from the same period as the pediment. Local preferences may appear later in some details (e.g. F16). The conspicuous role of grapes as the divinity's attribute, as observed throughout my material, is a reference to viticulture, a specialized branch of agriculture, and also to fertility. In this sense it underscores the Pompeian cult of Bacchus as a direct continuation of and blend with the indigenous Italic Liber.

The idea of Bacchus imparting blessedness to mortals is discerned in many Pompeian wall paintings, even in the discovery of Ariadne. The contrary aspect, i.e. Bacchus punishing people for not accepting his cult, is shown only in the portrayal of his persecutor(s). Most of the surviving Pompeian wall paintings are datable to the period after the earthquake of 62 AD, and before the destruction in 79. Accordingly, only a few of the paintings in my material represent the Second style, and some few more the Third, while most belong to the Fourth style. This is a pity in a way, as we have lost the strongest elements from the Greek world that were conveyed at an early age. Pompeian images almost without exception reflect Hellenistic images adopted through works of art, vase paintings, pattern books, and by the craftsmen themselves.

The cult of Dionysus was originally a mystery religion. In Pompei, the temple of Bacchus followed the Etrusco-Italic plan with a deep pronaos but a surprisingly low podium. Was this exceptional feature a question of economy, or due to the temple's

site on a hill, making it visible in the distance? A very late addition to the temple was the partial closing of the columns of the pronaos with triclinia in front. This type of limited visibility into the pronaos was known already in the late sixth century, from Temple F at Selinus, allegedly dedicated to Dionysus, and later in the early second century temple from the theatre in Pergamum. Was this an incipient sign of the strengthening of mystery cults, and the forthcoming popularity of the cult of Bacchus shown e.g. by the Bacchic depictions on sarcophagi in the second century AD? Torches for their part are easy to associate with nocturnal rites, and belong to mystery cults in general, but there are not many of them among my material; the only explicit example is in a painting from the upper zone in the House of the Vettii (F7); all the other cases are ambivalent. Neither is there enough evidence to determine whether Bacchic paintings correlated with the overall background colours of the walls, especially in the case of black as a possible reference to the nocturnal features of the cult. A more strongly established aspect is the already mentioned connection to viticulture, which is very evident in my material: vines, grapes, and wine appear time after time in wall paintings and sculptures, and once even on his robe covered with grapes. He is given wine or grapes from early childhood, and as an adult he carries and squeezes them, very often giving wine or bunches of grapes to a panther or a satyr. He is never shown drinking wine himself, but his posture and/or countenance sometimes clearly show the aftermath of drinking, and he is seldom sober. His temple was located among the vineyards, and the worshippers ate and drank there. Perhaps even the epiphany of Bacchus to Ariadne, such a popular subject in wall paintings and even portrayed in a cameo glass in Pompei, may be linked to the concept of rebirth and welcoming the new season of vine cultivation.

Theatre had a limited role in the portrayal of Bacchus in Pompeii, and was overall a less popular subject in the Roman world than in Greece. A sculpted head of the divinity functioned as the keystone of the theatre, and was visible enough for those who bothered to direct their eyes upwards towards the entrance vault (H5); the same can be seen in the central part of the archway of the Stabian baths (C24). According to Vitruvius, the temple of Liber should ideally be located near a theatre, a feature however not implemented in Pompeii.

The number of inscriptions referring to Liber (3) or Bacchus (1) in Pompeii is astonishingly low compared to the number of Bacchic themes in Pompeian wall paintings, but in comparison to the occurrence of the names of other gods it is nothing out of the ordinary, with the only exception being Venus, as the main cult of Pompeii. It appears that the old cult of Liber continued in Pompeii as a decorative element alongside Venus, not only in the pediment of the temple of Bacchus, but also in other depictions: the two gods were paired on the façade of the House VI 13, 6–7, on a façade in Via Nolana (D2, D1), and in the temple of Venus, where the inscription marked a statue of our divinity. The meagre epigraphic evidence shows that the old Latin name Liber and the later term Liber Pater were in use, but their chronology is most unclear, and the use of Bac-

chus was in the minority. The inscription *CIL* IV 1626 seems to have been an allusion to the subject of the painting above (C11), alas now lost; the author of the graffito seems to have half repeated the name LIB LIBER as a writing exercise, or else without any serious purpose. The dipinto BACCHE of *CIL* IV 3508 on the façade of the House of the Vettii is most probably a vocative, by somebody simply wanting to salute Bacchus, and may be a reference to the interior decor of the house. I conclude that Liber appears to be the favoured name of the divinity in Pompeii of the first century AD.

In some Pompeian houses there were concentrations of wall paintings with portraits of Bacchus himself, and the Bacchic cycle in general. The divinity was depicted six times in the House of Marcus Holconius Rufus/Casa dei Postumi (VIII 4,4.49): in the exedra (3), cubiculum (2), and atrium (1). In the exedra there were two high-quality central pictures: Bacchus discovering Ariadne (E13), and Bacchus as a statue behind Narcissus (A7); the third Bacchus, as a young man enthroned (B14), was in the upper zone. In the atrium there was Silenus with a youthful Bacchus (G9). However, having the divinity supervise these public display spaces was not enough for the proprietor of the house. The divinity was additionally painted in a small cubiculum, which was in a way the most Bacchic room of the whole house: two out of seven small framed paintings in the main zone represent Bacchus himself (F5, G7), and the rest his companions.

F5 and G7 are presented together with other Bacchic figures , Reinach 333, 10–17 (RP 1922) after GdS 1861, pl. 4.

The second concentration of Bacchic pictures is in the House of Marcus Lucretius (IX 3,5.24). All the central pictures in the large triclinium not only depicted the god himself but also referred to his power, and to wine. A bearded Bacchus was shown behind feasting cupids (A9), a young Bacchus in front of a tropaeum (F31), and an infant Bacchus in the arms of Silenus on a triumphal chariot (G11). The pictorial programme has been considered a paragon of the "Room of Dionysus" described by Philostratus. Bacchus also appeared elsewhere in the house, at least as four double herms in the garden.

The third concentration was in the House of the Vettii (VI 15,1), with Bacchus occurring seven times in the public display areas: in the peristyle as a wall painting (A5) and as a marble statue (H7); in the triclinium as a wall painting discovering Ariadne (E9) and enthroned in the upper zone (B11); in an oecus as a central picture with Ariadne (D13); and in another oecus as a floating figure together with Ariadne (D6) and a standing figure in the upper zone (F7). It is highly noteworthy that Bacchi of various types were depicted in so many houses, and that Bacchus could appear twice in the same painting (D4), and even thrice in the same room. The Villa dei Misteri cannot be left out from this list of important Bacchic houses in Pompeii. Even if the divinity is depicted only twice (D15, F19), the Second style and thus the early dating makes it a valuable example.

There is no real distinction to be made in the portrayal of Bacchus between the different regions in Pompeii, as the most significant number of works of art come from the best-preserved regions. Some insulae do however have concentrations of Bacchic paintings, in which influence from neighbouring houses may have affected the choice of the paintings. Insula V 4 may have been one of these, with three different houses decorated with fine young Bacchi, insulae IX 2 and IX 5 also with three houses but with a variety of Bacchic images, and insula VII 4 containing six Bacchic houses. The sculptures and minor arts in my material are split more evenly. In the Casa di Pansa VI 6,1 two pieces of bronze sculpture (H13, H18) were discovered, but no Bacchic paintings. The reason for this may be the building's later use as a tenement; the later inhabitants may not have had an interest in caring for the wall paintings.

Understanding these subjects and their iconographic details is a challenge. They are not without ambivalence to us, as we have often partially preserved paintings, partially understood outside of their cultural context, and they must have been equally so to some Roman viewers dining in the dim light of oil lamps; there would have been people less versed in the arts in antiquity and they might have not understood the finer details of some of the compositions. Every person experienced their own religion, attaching meanings and purposes to the surroundings, the wall paintings, and the statues and figurines, be they real ones or images of statues in the wall paintings. My study shows that in pictorial representations Pompeian Bacchus profusely echoed the previous Hellenistic forms, inevitably adapted for Pompeian tastes, and that the old Italic cult of Liber lived on in naming conventions, as well as being the protector of viticulture with its many symbolic connotations. However, as the various companions of Bacchus were often depicted without their master, a separate study of them is required in order to fully understand the role of Bacchus in Pompeii.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AA = Archäologischer Anzeiger
ActaAth-8º = Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, Series altera in 8º.
ActaRom-4º = Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, Series prima in 4º.
ActaRom-8º = Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, Series altera in 8º.
AdE = Le antichità di Ercolano esposte 1-8, Naples 1757–1792.
AdI = Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica. Rome 1829–1885, continued as *JdI*.
AE = L'Année épigraphique.
AEph = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίς: περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.
AION(filol) = Annali dell'istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del mediterraneo antico, Sezione filologico–letteraria.
AIRF = Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin.
ATTA = Atlante tematico di topografia antica
BABesch = Babesch. Bulletin antieke beschaving
BAIt = Bullettino archeologico italiano, Naples 1861–1862.
BAN = Bullettino archeologico napoletano, Naples 1842–1860.
BCom = Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma.
BdI = Bullettino dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica, Rome 1829–1853; 1856–1885, continued as *MDAI(R).*
BEFAR = Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athênes et de Rome.
CEFR = Collection de l'École française de Rome.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
Comm. Hum. Litt = Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Helsinki.
CP = Classical Philology.
CQ = The Classical Quarterly.
CRAI = Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CrPomp = Cronache pompeiane: rivista dell'Associazione internazionale "Amici di Pompei".
CTP = H.B. Van Der Poel (ed.), *Corpus Topographicum Pompeianum*, Rome 1977–1986.
Daremberg – Saglio = Ch. Daremberg – E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments,* [Paris] 1877–1919.
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EAA = Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale, Rome 1958–1997.
GdSc = Giornale degli scavi di Pompei, Naples 1850–1851, 1861–1862, 1865.
GdSc N.S. = Giornale degli scavi di Pompei, Nuova serie, Naples 1868–1879.
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JdI = Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1886–1917; *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1918–.
LIMC = Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zurich – Munich – Düsseldorf 1981–2009.

LTUR = *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, Rome 1993–2000.
MAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
MANN = Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.
Marsyas = *Marsyas*, *Studies in the History of Art*.
MB = *Real Museo Borbonico* 1–15, Naples 1824–1857, *Real Museo di Napoli* 16, Naples 1868.
MDAI(*A*) = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.*
MDAI(R) = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.*
MEFRA = *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité.*
MdI = *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica. Monuments inédits publiés par l'Institut de correspondance archéologique.*
MonAnt = *Monumenti Antichi.*
MPA = *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia.*
NSA = *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Notizie degli scavi di antichità.*
OLD = *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968–1982, reprinted with corrections 1996.
Ostraka = *Ostraka: rivista di antichità.*
PAAR = *American Academy in Rome, Papers and Monographs.*
PAH = G. Fiorelli (ed.), *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia,* Naples I 1860, II 1862, III 1864
PCPhS = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.*
PdE = *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni.*
PECS = R. Stillwell, W.L. MacDonald & M.H. McAlister (eds.), *The Princeton encyclopedia of classical sites*, Princeton NJ, 1976.
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PPP = *Pitture e Pavimenti di Pompei. Repertorio delle fotografie del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale*, Rome I–III, 1981–1986, *Indici* 1992.
RA = *Revue archéologique.*
RE = *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (*Pauly – Wissowa*), Stuttgart 1893–1980.
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RSP = *Rivista di studi pompeiani.*
SE = *Studi Etruschi.*
Studi SAP = Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei.
TLL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Leipzig – Munich.
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Catalogo illustrato = *Catalogo illustrato degli affreschi del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (SvIR)
Codex = *Codex Topographicus Pompeianus* (DAIR and SvIR)
Marmi = *Marmi di Pompei* (SvIR).

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Preface
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p. 57 Pompeii and the temple of Liber-Bacchus, Map M. Holappa.
pp. 58–60 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2010/2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
p. 61–62 Drawings (pediment and plan oft he temple) M. Wolf, 'Der Tempel von Sant'Abbondio in Pompeji, Bauaufnahme und Architektur', *MDAI*(*R*) 113 (2007) 301, 396.

7. Catalogue of Wall Paintings and Mosaics

A – Bearded Bacchus
p. 78 Location of A1–A14, Map M. Holappa.

p. 79 A3 MANN 9018. Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli; Original drawing N. La Volpe, *MB* 7, 3. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1831/0021.

p. 81 A5 *MonAnt* 8, 277–278. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/monant1898/0145.

p. 82 A6 One of the statues depicting Bacchus. Photo I. Kuivalainen (2010) Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei; Drawing A. Ala MANN ADS 582. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573085 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 83 A7 Drawing A. Aurelj [s.d.]. A-VII-32-179: 32, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/949165. DAIR.

p. 84 A8 Watercolour by unknown author (1888). A-VII-33-019 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026519. DAIR.

p. 85 A9 MANN 9207. Photo EPUH. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli; Original drawing A. Abbate, *MB* 15, 45. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1856/0277.

p. 87 A10 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N046307. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

p. 88 A11 MANN 8968. Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017): preserved painting and detail of the statue depicting Bacchus. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 89 A12 Watercolour by unknown author (1885). A-VII-32-153, 32, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/949139. DAIR.

p. 90 A13 MANN 9658, foto Archivio MANN. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 91 A14 MANN 10019. Drawing G. Marsigli, *MB* 7, 61. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg,

https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1831/0359.

p. 92 Reinach 82, 2–3 (*RP* 1922).

B – Young Bacchus Alone

p. 94 Location of B1–B20, Map M. Holappa.

p. 94 B1 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N057742. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

p. 95 B2 Detail from Spinazzola 1953, fig. 657. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 97 B6 Drawing G. Abbate ADS 671. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573174 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 98 B7 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2010). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 99 B8 Pollak 1912, pl. 49 and drawing from Reinach 107, 6 (*RP* 1922).

p. 99 B9 Drawing F. Morelli (1812) ADS 129. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500569681(CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 100 B10 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009), ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 100 B11 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 102 B14 Drawing N. La Volpe MANN ADS 1194. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573630 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 103 B15 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 104 B17 Detail, drawing S. Bird, Ling 2005, 420, fig. 74. © Roger Ling and Lesley Ling 2005. OUP. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear.

p. 104 B18 Drawing La Volpe (1870) MANN ADS 9. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500566449(CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 105 B19 Reinach 334, 8 (*RP* 1922).

C – Bacchus with a Panther

p. 106 Location of C1–A24, Map M. Holappa.

p. 107 C1 Drawing G. Discanno. MANN ADS 1. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500566441

(CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 108 C3 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 109 C4 Photo S.A. Jashemski (1968). The Wilhelmina and Stanley A. Jashemski archive in the University of Maryland Library, J68f0723 Special Collections (Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International), Jackie and Bob Dunn. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 109 C5 Drawing G. Abbate (1841) MANN ADS 101. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500569653 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 110 C7 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N048165. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

p. 111 C9 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 112 C10 Photo after De Carolis 2007, 314. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 113 C11 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2011). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 113 C12 Drawing G. Maldarelli, *MB* 3, 50. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1827/0204.

p. 114 C13 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1901-0131-1, ©The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

p. 114 C14 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N036659. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

p. 115 C15 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2007), ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 116 C16 *NSA* 1899, 340. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 117 C17 MANN 112286 Photo A. Tammisto. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli; Photo, 156 Pompei Fouilles nouvelles, detail from Warsher, *Marmi di Pompei* 4 (1948), 320, no. 187. SvIR.

p. 118 C18 Drawing G. Abbate (1843), MANN ADS 95. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500566535 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 119 C19 Detail from *PPM* 3, 372 (AFS C967); Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 120 C20 Original drawing R. d'Auria, *MB* 6, 53. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1830/0235.

p. 121 C22 Original drawing V. Campana, *AdE* 7/5, 113. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ercolano1779bd7/0129.

p. 121 C23 C7 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, 80 Diap. 5492. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC, detail from *PPM* 2, 118.

p. 122 C24 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2014). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

D – Bacchus with a Female and Other Companions

p. 124 Location of D1–A16, Map M. Holappa.

p. 124 D1 Arch. App. I 2 a: Bacchus und Libera (?) (Wilhelm Zahn, H 26) © ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN - PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ Foto: Franziska Vu.

p. 125 D1 Drawing G. Abbate (1841) MANN ADS 103. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500569655 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 125 D2 MANN 9282. Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 127 D4 Arch. App. I 24: Bacchus und Ariadne (?) (Wilhelm Zahn, H 402) © ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN - PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ Foto: Franziska Vu.

p. 128 D5 Drawing Reinach 109, 3 (*RP* 1922).

p. 129 D6 *MonAnt* 8 (1898), 329–330, fig. 41. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/monant1898/0173; Drawing Reinach 141, 6 (*RP* 1922).

p. 130 D7 Fiorelli 1875, 46.

p. 130 D8 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N36411. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

p. 131 D9 Drawing G. Discanno (1870) MANN ADS 991. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573458 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 131 D10 *NSA* 1899, 345. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 132 D11 Drawing N. La Volpe (1866) MANN ADS 963. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573430 (CC BY-SA 4.0); Drawing L. Schulz (1867) A-VII-33-009 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026507. DAIR.

p. 132 D12 MANN 111481 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn, ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 134 D13 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei; *MonAnt* 8 (1898), 257–258, fig. 9. A. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/monant1898/0137; MANN 9262). Original drawing G. Morghen *AdE* 2, 85. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ercolano1760bd2/0097.

p. 135 D14 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 137 D15 Photo A. Tammisto (2017) Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei; Drawing Reinach 115, 6 (*RP* 1922).

p. 138 D16 Photo S. Compoint (2020). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei. Published e.g. Pompéi 2020, 91.

E – Bacchus discovering Sleeping or Awakened Ariadne

p. 141 Location of E1–A21, Map M. Holappa.

p. 142 E1 Drawing G. Abbate (1842) MANN ADS 375. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500572878 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 142 E2 *NSA*, 1899, 342. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 143 E3 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 144 E4 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2011). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 144 E5 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2010). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 145 E6 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2010). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico

di Pompei.

p. 146 E7 Drawing A. Aurelj. A-VII-32-012 32, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/948997. DAIR.

p. 147 E8 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 147 E9 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 148 E10 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 149 E11 Original drawing N. La Volpe, *MB* 13, 6. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1843/0051; MANN 9278 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 150 E12 Drawing A. Aurelj. A-VII-32-143 32, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/949129. DAIR.

p. 151 E13 Original drawing G. Abbate, *GdSc* 1861, tav. 7.

p. 152 E14 Drawing G. Discanno (1871) MANN ADS 1095. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573561 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 152 E15 Drawing G. Discanno. A-VII-32-037, 32, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/949022. DAIR.

p. 153 E16 Drawing G. Discanno. A-VII-33-099, 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026599. DAIR.

p. 154 E17 Original drawing N. La Volpe, *MB* 11, 35. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1835/0189.

p. 154 E18 Drawing G. Discanno. A-VII-33-100, 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026601. DAIR.

p. 155 E19 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2007). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 156 E20 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2019). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 157 E21 Drawing G. Discanno. A-VII-33-023, 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026523. DAIR.

F – Bacchus with Other Companions

p. 159 Location of F1–F33, Map M. Holappa.

p. 159 F1 *NSA* 1906, 155. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 160 F2 Original drawing G. Marsigli, *MB* 1, 29. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1824/0233.

p. 161 F3 Original drawing N. La Volpe, *MB* 8, 51. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1832/0392.

p. 161 F4 MANN 9268 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 162 F5 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 163 F6 Detail from *PPM* 3, 433 (AFS C1191). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 163 F7 Curtius 1929, 145 (Cf. Herrmann – Bruckmann *Denkmäler* Taf. 26).

p. 164 F8 York and Son, in/before 1890. University of Oxford, HEIR Project. 44541. Pompeii: "26, A wine shop in the Street of Nola, Pompeii, Past & present" "67, Pompeii, XQk 212".

p. 165 F9 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2014). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 166 F10 Drawing G. Abbate (1843) MANN ADS 811. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573314 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 167 F12 Herrmann – Bruckmann, Taf. 194. Herrmann, Paul, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* herausgegeben von Paul Herrmann. Serie I, Tafeln IV-VI und 108-194 / München 1904-1931. DAIR - Scan188. http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1038088.

p. 168 F13 Overbeck – Mau 1884, 96, fig. 49; Gell 1852, 165; p. 169 Original drawing G. Maldarelli, *MB* 2, 35. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1825/0191; W. Ternite – C.O. Müller *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculanum nach den Zeichnungen und Nachbildungen in Farben*, (1), Heft 3, Taf. 4. http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/509352.

p. 170 F14 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2006). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 171 F15 Drawing G. Abbate (1847) MANN ADS 684. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573187 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 172 F16 MANN 9274 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2009). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 172 F17 Drawing N. La Volpe MANN ADS 563. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573066 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 173 F18 Drawing F. Morelli (1806) Casa della regina Carolina VIII 3, 14 MANN ADS 827. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573330 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 174 F19 Detail from Maiuri 1947, 183. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 175–176 F21 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2013, 2014). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 176 F22 Drawing M. Oliva, ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N045633. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

p. 177 F23 Drawing G. Discanno A-VII-32-10532, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/949091. DAIR.

p. 178 F25 Drawing G. Abbate (1842) MANN ADS 166. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500569718 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 179 F26 Drawing A. Ala MANN ADS 499. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500573002 (CC BY-SA 4.0); p. 180 F26 Maison de Vedius Siricus, P. d'Amelio, E. Cerillo & G. Cottrau, *Dipinti murali scelti di Pompei*, pl. 15. Istituto d'Incoraggiamento di Napoli, Esposizioni di Londra e Milano. http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1013879.

p. 180 F27 Drawing Reinach 116, 1 (RP 1922). There are original drawings by A. Aurelj and G. Marsigli.

p. 181 F28 Drawing Reinach 110, 4 (*RP* 1922). (This is published also in *AZ* 1869, Taf. 21, 1).

p. 182 F30 Original drawing R. d'Auria, *MB* 3, 4. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1827/0023; p. 183 Detail MANN 9050 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2010). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 184 F31 Pompeii Photo EPUH, Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di PompeiEPUH; Original drawing G. Abbate, *MB* 15, 32. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1856/0191.

p. 185 F32 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2012); Drawing by A. Sikkard was already published in Mau 1882 (*Geschichte der Decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*), Mau 1908, Taf. 13.

p. 186 F33 Drawing L. Schulz (1867) A-VII-32-131, 32, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (1). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/949117. DAIR.

p. 187 The 'Sternenstreit' (VI 7, 23). Drawing M. Mastracchio (1847) MANN ADS 243 Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/1500569795 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

p. 188 Bacchus and Pentheus' (IX 5, 18-21). Drawing A. Sikkard A-VII-33-072, 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026572. DAIR.

G – Child Bacchus

p. 189 Location of G1–G20, Map M. Holappa.

p. 190 G1 Drawing Reinach 122, 12 (*RP* 1922).

p. 190 G2 Drawing Reinach 97, 4 (*RP* 1922).

p. 191 G3 Photo D-DAI-Z-83.2.257 (old DAIB 83.2253), now DAIR, published *PPM* 5, 787. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 191 G4 Drawing H.D. Mirick, Van Buren 1932, pl. 11, 2.

p. 192 G5 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 193 G6 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2012). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 194 G7 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p 195 G10 Original drawing N. La Volpe, *MB* 10, 25. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1834/0113.

p. 196 G11 Original drawing G. Abbate, Niccolini (1) 1854, Casa di Marco Lucrezio, tav. 2.; MANN 9285 (EPUH), Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 197 G12 MANN Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017), Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 197 G13 Detail MANN 9275, foto Archivio MANN. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 199 G15 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2009). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 199 G16 Detail, drawing L.A. Ling, Ling 2005, 360, fig. 31. © Roger Ling and Lesley Ling 2005. OUP. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear.p.

200 G17 Photo Jackie and Bob Dunn (2007). ©Jackie and Bob Dunn www.pompeiiinpictures.com. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 200 G18 Drawing L. Schulz (1867) A-VII-33-015, 33, Wandmalerei, 2. Pompeji (2). http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/buchseite/1026515. DAIR.

p. 201 G19 Drawing A. Sanarica, detail, Spinazzola 1953, tav. 34. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura - Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 202 G20 Photo S.A. Jashemski (1959) Detail of painting of panthers pulling a cart being guided by a cupid, on east wall of atrium. The Wilhelmina and Stanley A. Jashemski archive in the University of Maryland Library, J59f0169 Special Collections (Attribution-Non Commercial License 4.0 International), Jackie and Bob Dunn. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 202 G21 ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N036072. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.

8. Catalogue of Sculptures and Minor Arts

Stone Objects H1–H8

p. 204 Location of H1–G21, Map M. Holappa.

pp. 205–206 H1 Pompeii, antiquarium Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 207 Limestone pediment from the temple of Figareto, Corfu. Boardman 1978, fig. 207a.

p. 208 H2 Pompeii inv. 8660, Granai del Foro, Photo I. Kuivalainen (2012). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 209 H3 Capital of a pillar, Pompeii, Granai del Foro, Photo I. Kuivalainen (2012). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 210 H4 Drawing, Mazois 1824 (2), pl. 3, fig 2. Available https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k106986n/f112.item Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

p. 211 H5 Detail from Eschebach 1978, fig. 64. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 212 H6 Pompeii, west rear wall of cella of the temple of Isis. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei; Drawing from Overbeck – Mau 1884, 542, fig. 280c.

p. 213 H7 *MonAnt* 8 (1898), 287–288. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/monant1898/0152.

p. 214 H8 Drawing (watercolour) E. Falkener. ©Michael Portman.

Terracotta H9–H12

p. 217 H11 MANN 116664 Drawing H. Kuivalainen. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 218 H12 MANN?, von Rohden 1880, pl. 40, no. 2, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/rohden1880/0137. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

Bronze H13–H19

p. 219 H13 MANN 4995 Overbeck – Mau 1884, 545, fig. 283b. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 219 H14 MANN 5003 Overbeck – Mau 1884, frontispiece. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

p. 220 H15 Pompeii inv. 11864 Drawing I. Kuivalainen. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

p. 221 H16 Pompeii, Drawing M. Holappa. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei; strigilis from Palestrina (Medio repubblicana 273, no. 419).

p. 222 H17 Pompeii inv. 40170 Drawing. I. Kuivalainen. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1977-0217-1. ©The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

p. 223 H18 Original drawing G. Maldarelli, *MB* 2, 13. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1825/0068.

Glass H21

p. 226 H21 MANN 152652 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2017). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.

9. Concluding Remarks

p. 233 F20 Pompeii. ICCD – Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Fondo GFN, N044502. Su autorizzazione dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione – MiC.
p. 234 G15 Photo D-DAI-ROM-56.1196, DAIR. Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
p. 235 MANN 9270, Drawing Reinach 105, 3 (*RP* 1922). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archelogico Nazionale di Napoli.
p. 240 H2 Pompeii inv. 8660 Photo I. Kuivalainen (2012). Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
p. 242 Reinach 333, 10–17 (*RP* 1922) after *GdS* 1861, pl. 4. There are original drawings in MANN, N. La Volpe ADS 838, 841 and 844.

MANN ADS Photos © ICCD. https://www.catalogo.beniculturali.it Utilizzabili alle condizioni della licenza Attribuzione - Non commerciale - Condividi allo stesso modo 2.5 Italia (CC BY-NC-SA 2.5 IT).

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APPENDIX 1

Wall Paintings by Location

The material of this Appendix was collected mainly from W. Helbig's *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig 1868), A. Sogliano's *Le Pitture Murali Campane Scoverte negli Anni 1867–1879* (Naples 1879), K. Schefold's *Die Wände Pompejis, topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive*, (Berlin 1957) and *Pompeii Pitture e Mosaici*. The following information is given: the catalogue number of my catalogue, the inventory number, the condition and the iconographical type of Bacchus.

Destroyed = non-existant or unreadable
Damaged = still visible or readable in part

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
C1	I 1, 2		destroyed	youth
C2	I 2, 10		destroyed	youth
D7	I 2, 20-21		destroyed	youth
A1	I 2, 24		destroyed	bearded
A2	I 3, 3		destroyed	bearded herm
B18	I 3, 25		damaged	youth
	I 3, 25		good	youth/Hesperus
	I 4, 5.25.28	MANN 11283	damaged	youth, only feet
E7	I 4, 5.25.28	MANN 9286	good	youth
	I 6, 2		good	youth
	I 6, 2		good	youth
G19	I 6, 4		restored	infant
E4	I 6, 4		partially damaged	youth
G20	I 6, 7		damaged	child
C3	I 6, 15		partially damaged	youth
C4	I 7, 7		damaged	youth
F21	I 8, 8		good	youth
	I 9, 1		destroyed	?
E5	I 9, 5		good	youth
E6	I 9, 5		damaged	youth

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
C23	I 9, 5		restored	youth
G16	I 10, 4		damaged	child
B17	I 10, 4		almost destroyed	youth?
E8	I 10, 11		damaged	youth
D8	I 11, 1		destroyed	youth
F9	I 11, 7		damaged	youth
G21	I 11, 17		damaged	child
C14	I 12, 16		damaged	youth
F20	II 1, 12		damaged	youth
B15	II 2, 2-5		partially destroyed	youth
G5	II 3, 3		damaged	infant
G13	II 4	MANN 9275	good	infant
C15	II 9, 1		damaged	youth
C18	III 1		destroyed	youth
C19	III 2, 1		damaged	youth
F6	III 4, 2		partly preserved	youth
B1	III 4, 4		good	youth
B2	III 4, 4		destroyed	youth
C5	IV via Nolana	dis. 276	destroyed	youth
D1	IV via Nolana	dis. 279	destroyed	youth
F32	V 1, 18		damaged	youth, effeminate
C6	V 1, 20		destroyed	youth
B3	V 1, 26		nearly destroyed	youth
C7	V 2, 1		partly damaged	youth
F21	V 2, 1		destroyed	youth
E15	V 2, 1		damaged	youth
	V 2, 4		destroyed	youth? Bust
D14	V 4, a.11		good	youth
F14	V 4, a.11		damaged	youth
C16	V 4, 3		destroyed	youth
E2	V 4, 3		damaged	youth
F8	V 4, 7		destroyed	youth

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
D10	V 4, 6-8		destroyed	youth
B20	V 5, 3		almost damaged	youth, effeminate
F1	V 6, 1		destroyed	youth
	VI 1, 2		destroyed	youth?
A3	VI 1, 10	MANN 9018	good	bearded
G1	VI 2, 4		destroyed	infant
	VI 2, 11		destroyed	?
	VI 2, 14		damaged	?
B16	VI 2, 14		destroyed	youth
B9	VI 2, 14		destroyed	youth
	VI 2, 22		destroyed	?
F25	VI 7, 6		destroyed	youth
	VI 7, 23		damaged	youth?
	VI 7, 23		good	youth/Apollo
B4	VI 8, 20		destroyed	youth
C8	VI 8, 20		destroyed	youth
	VI 9, 2	MANN	damaged	bearded/Hercules
G10	VI 9, 2		destroyed	child
F3	VI 9, 2		destroyed	youth
F4	VI 9, 6-7	MANN 9268	good	youth
B10	VI 9, 6-7		damaged	youth
	VI 9, 6-7		damaged	?
G15	VI 9, 6-7		damaged	child
F2	VI 9, 6-7		destroyed	youth
C20	VI 10, 11	MANN 9456	good	youth
G2	VI 10, 11		damaged	infant
E1	VI 11, 4		destroyed	youth
	VI 11, 8-10		damaged	youth?
	VI 13, 6		destroyed	youth?
D2	VI 13, 6-7	MANN 9282	damaged	youth
A4	VI 13, 19		destroyed	bearded
D3	VI 14, 20		almost destroyed	youth

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
N4	VI 14, 28		damaged	youth
B5	VI 14, 40		nearly destroyed	youth
D13	VI 15, 1		good	youth
A5	VI 15, 1		good	bearded
E9	VI 15, 1		good	youth
B11	VI 15, 1		damaged	youth
D6	VI 15, 1		good	youth
F7	VI 15, 1		damaged	youth
C9	VI 15, 7-8		good	youth
G3	VI 16, 7.38		damaged	infant
E10	VI 16, 15-17		damaged	youth
J4	VI 16, 15		damaged	youth
	VI 16, 31		destroyed	
	VI 17, 10	MANN 9127	good	youth? effeminate
	VI 17, 19-20?		destroyed	?
B19	VI 17, ?	MANN 9520	quite good	youth
	VI 17, 41	MANN 9258	damaged	?
C10	VI 17, 42	P 87280	restored	youth
E20	VI 17, 42		good	youth
C24	VII 1, 8		damaged	youth
F26	VII 1, 25.46.47		good	youth
F24	VII 1, 36.37		destroyed	youth
	VII 2, 16-17	MANN 9449	good	youth/Apollo
F28	VII 2, 16-17		destroyed	youth
	VII 2, 18		destroyed	bearded/Priapus
	VII 2, 45			?
F10	VII 3, 13-15?		destroyed	youth
F33	VII 3, 25		destroyed	youth
F17	VII 3, 29		destroyed	youth, effeminate
C21	VII 4, 10		destroyed	youth
D4	VII 4, 10		destroyed	youth; bearded
F27	VII 4, 25		destroyed	youth

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
E17	VII 4, 31.51		destroyed	youth
E11	VII 4, 31.51	MANN 9278	good	youth
A6	VII 4, 48		partly damaged	bearded
B6	VII 4, 59		damaged	youth
F15	VII 4, 62		destroyed	youth
C11	VII 6, 34-35		damaged	youth
	VII 7, 5			youth, bust
B12	VII 7,10		destroyed	youth
F13	VII 7, 30		destroyed	youth
C12	VII 9, 30?		destroyed	youth
E12	VII 10, 3.14	MANN 111484	good	youth
	VII 10, 3.14			?
	VII 12, 26			child
G8	VII 12, 28		destroyed	infant
A12	VII 15, 12		destroyed	bearded
	VII 16, 22			?
G17	VII 16, 22		good	child
	VII 16, 22			?
E19	VII 16, 22		partially damaged	youth
B13	VIII 2, 21		almost destroyed	youth
A11	VIII 2, 39	MANN 8968	good	bearded
F12	VIII 3, 2?	MANN ”9269”	good	youth
F11	VIII 3, 4	dis. 259, 260	destroyed	youth
G7	VIII 4, 4		damaged	infant
B14	VIII 4, 4	dis. 693	destroyed	youth
A7	VIII 4, 4		destroyed	bearded
E13	VIII 4, 4		destroyed	youth
F5	VIII 4, 4		good	youth
G9	VIII 4, 4		destroyed	infant
	VIII 7, 28			youth
	IX 1, 7			youth
D11	IX 1, 22.29	dis. 736	almost damaged	youth

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
	IX 2, 16			bearded herm
G18	IX 2, 16		destroyed	child
G14	IX 2, 16		destroyed	infant
A8	IX 2, 18	dis. 841	destroyed	bearded
	IX 2, 21	dis. 843	bearded?	
D9	IX 2, 19-21	dis. 843	destroyed	youth
G11	IX 3, 5	MANN 9285	good	infant
A9	IX 3, 5	MANN 9207	good	bearded
F31	IX 3, 5		almost destroyed	youth, effeminate
E14	IX 3, 19		almost destroyed	youth
E21	IX 5, 2		damaged	youth
	IX 5, 11		damaged	youth/athlete
D12	IX 5, 14-16	MANN 111481	partially damaged	youth
D5	IX 5, 14-16		partially damaged	youth
G4	IX 5, 18		damaged	infant
	IX 5, 18		damaged	youth?
E16	IX 7, 20		almost damaged	youth
E18	IX 7, 20		destroyed	youth
	IX 8, 1 ?			?
C17	IX 8, 3.6	MANN 112286	good	youth
	IX 8, 3.6			
	IX 8, 3.6			
	IX 12, 9			
F22	IX 13, 3		not known	youth
B7	IX 13, 1-3		good	youth
A10	IX 13, 3		good	bearded
	IX 13, 3			mask
	IX 13, 3			mask
	V. Imperiale VIII1a			bearded
G6	V. Imperiale VIII1a 1.1			child
	V. Imperiale VIII1a			youth
D15	V. dei Misteri		partially destroyed	youth

	LOCATION	INV.	CONDITION	TYPE
F19	V. dei Misteri		good	
	V. d. Col. a Mos.		destroyed	
F30	possibly VII 4, 22	MANN 9050	damaged	youth
		MANN 9165		
		MANN ”9191”		
	P	MANN 9271		
F16	P	MANN 9274	partially damaged	youth
G12	P	MANN 9281	good	child
A13	P	MANN 9658	good	bearded
B8	P?	Stroganoff	unknown	youth
C13	P?	BM 1901, 0131.1	good	youth
C22	P	Roux – Barré II, 119	destroyed?	youth
F18	P	Ornati	destroyed	youth

APPENDIX 2

Sculptures by Location

The catalogue of sculptures is compiled initially from H. Döhl's *Plastik aus Pompeji* (Göttingen 1976), W. Jashemski's *The Gardens of Pompeii* 2 (New Rochelle 1993), C. Moss's *Roman Marble Tables* (diss. Princeton 1988), and *Marmora Pompeiana nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome 2008). Additionally, diverse publications on terracotta, bronze sculpture and glass were consulted, not to mention innumerable exhibition catalogues. On-site visits were made in locations, storerooms and archives in Pompeii and in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, to inspect the material in person.

For each item the following information is given: the number in my catalogue, location, material, subject and inventory number, if known. The material in this Appendix 2 is larger than in the present PhD-thesis, as herms and table supports are included. The Appendix shows that some of the material once documented has gone lost.

	LOCATION	MATERIAL	SUBJECT	INV. NO.
	I 2,20.21	marble	herm bacchic	MANN 110657?
	I 3,25	marble	herm bearded Bacchus (Indian)	MANN 110653
H19	I 13,5	bronze	bust, bearded Bacchus	P 11471
H20	I 13,8	bone	shaft, young Bacchus with a companion	P 11492a
	I 7,10-12	marble (red)	herm child?	P 3742
	I 7,19	marble (yellow)	herm bearded	P?
	I 8,14	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	P 1180-4 (7394)
	I 8,17	marble	table support, bearded herm Bacchus	P 1178-4 (6584)
	I 10,4	marble (giallo antico)	herm youth Bacchus	P 4237
	I 10,4.16	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	P 1595 (20396)
H15	I 17,2	bronze	statue, young Bacchus	P 11864
	II 1,2	marble	table support, bearded herm Bacchus	P 10611
H4	II 3,5 or VI 17,27	tufa	fountain pilaster	
H17	II 9,2	bronze	statuette, child Bacchus	P 40170
	V 1,22-23	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 110649
	V 1,23-26	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120427

	LOCATION	MATERIAL	SUBJECT	INV. NO.
	V 1,23-26	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120487
	V 2,3	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120058
	V 3,10	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	MANN 126175
	V 6,b	marble (white)	herm bearded Bacchus	P 205 (XII-907)
	V 6,b	marble (white)	herm bacchante	P 206 (XII-907)
	VI 4,11 or VII 7	marble (white)	head (herm) youth Bacchus	
	VI 4,11 or VII 7	marble (giallo antico?)	head (herm) bearded Bacchus (Indian)	
H3	V 1,7	tufa	capital of pillar	P 295-4
H13	VI 6,1 (Pansa)	bronze	group of Bacchus and a companion	MANN 4995
H18	VI 6,1 (Pansa)	bronze	lampstand, child Bacchus	MANN 4563 (73000)
	VI 6 ? (near tempio greco?)	bronze	statuette Bacchus and a vase	
	VI 7,23.24	marble	doubleherm, putto and Bacchus	
	VI 7,23.24	marble (giallo antico)	head Bacchus	
	VI 12	marble (Greek)	statue frg. half naked, youth Bacchus	
	VI 13,2	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 110005
	VI 13,2 (notamenti VI 13,49)	marble	doubleherm youth Bacchus, Silenus	MANN 110002
	VI 13,2	marble	herm Indian Bacchus	MANN 110001
	VI 13,13.18	marble	head bacchant?	MANN 120577
	VI 13,19.12	marble	herm bacchic?	MANN 120451
	VI 14,24	marble (rosso antico)	herm youth Bacchus	MANN 110650
	VI 14,27	marble	herm youth Bacchus	MANN 110874
H7	VI 15,1	marble	statue youth Bacchus	P 53505 (old 678)
	VI 15,1	marble	doubleherm, Silenus, bacchante?	P 630
	VI 15, 1	marble	doubleherm, Bacchus, Ariadne?	P 631
	VI 15,2	marble	herm youth Bacchus	MANN 124866
	VI 15,7-8	marble	table support, Silenus, infant Bacchus	P 406-4 (1109)
	VI 16,7	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	P 20456?
	VI 16,7	marble	table support, herm child Bacchus	MANN 133391
	VI 16,7	marble	head bearded Bacchus	P 1282
	VI 16,7	marble	doubleherm, bearded Bacchus, Silenus	P 1280

	LOCATION	MATERIAL	SUBJECT	INV. NO.
	VI 16,7	marble	doubleherm, Bacchus, Ariadne	P 3056?
	VI 16,7	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	P 1281
	VI 16,13	travertine	table support, herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 133389
	VI 16,28	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	MANN
	VI 16,32	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	MANN 133232
	VI Occ., 17, 15-18	marble	herm Sabazius?, bearded	
H10	VII 2	terracotta	head young Bacchus	P 14165
	VII 3,11.12	marble	herm youth Bacchus	MANN 109520
	VII 3,11.12	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 6482
	VII 5 east side (Via del Foro)	marble (giallo antico)	herm Bacchus ?	
	VII 6,3 (Diana)	marble (rosso antico)	herm youth? Bacchus	
	VII 6,3 (Diana)	marble (white)	herm youth Bacchus (or bacchant)	
	VII 7, 19	marble	head (herm) Bacchus (without nose)	
	VII 9,47.65	travertine	table support, clipeus bust Bacchus	MANN
	VII 9 Northern side	marble	head Bacchus (broken nose)	
	VII 9 Northern side	marble (giallo antico)	herm bearded Bacchus	
H14	VII 12, 17.21	bronze	statue Bacchus (Narcissus)	MANN 5003
	VII 15,5	marble	herm bearded Bacchus (Indian)	MANN 110656
	VII 15,9	marble	herm bearded Bacchus (Indian), (broken nose)	MANN 120445
	VII 15,13	marble	herm bearded ? (Indian Bacchus)	MANN 110652
	VII 15,13	marble	herm bearded (Indian) Bacchus	MANN 110655
H21	VII 16,17	glass	relief, young Bacchus with Ariadne	MANN 152652
	VIII 4,44	marble	doubleherm???	MANN 109619
	VIII 5	marble	doubleherm???	
	VIII 5	plaster	base Bacchus	
	VIII 5	stucco	statue Bacchus	
	VIII 5,39	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 120038
	VIII 5,39	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 120039
	VIII 5,39	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 120040
H5	VIII 7,20	tufa	keystone, bust of young Bacchus	

	LOCATION	MATERIAL	SUBJECT	INV. NO.
H6	VIII 7,28 Isis' temple	marble	statue Bacchus	MANN 6312
	IX 1,3	plaster	head Bacchus	
	IX 1,7	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 109518
	IX 1,22	marble	herm Bacchus	
	IX 3,5	marble	head bacchic	MANN
	IX 3,5	marble	doubleherm	P
	IX 3,5	marble	doubleherm	P
	IX 3,5	marble	doubleherm	P
	IX 3,5	marble	doubleherm	P
	IX 3,19, IX 8,3-6 or IX 2,18	marble	herm youth Bacchus	MANN 110651
	IX 3,19	marble	herm bearded Bacchus or Faun	MANN 109615
	IX 5,11	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120508
	IX 6,3	marble	herm child Bacchus?	MANN 120532
H16	IX 7,11	bronze	statuette, young Bacchus	P
	IX 7,12?	marble (giallo chiaro)	table support, herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120598
	IX 7,12?	marble (giallo chiaro)	table suppport, herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120599
	IX 7,12?	marble (bardiglio)	doubleherm, bearded Bacchus and Libera	MANN120465
	IX 7,12?	marble	doubleherm, bearded Bacchus and Libera	MANN 120600
	IX 7,19	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	
	IX 7,21	marble	head Bacchus	
H11	IX 7 fontana mosaico	terracotta	figurine Bacchus and panther	MANN 116664
	IX 8,3-6	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	MANN 120441
	IX 8,3-6 or IX 1?	marble	herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 120452
	near theatre	marble (rosso antico)	herm bacchant?	
	Vico di Eumachia VII 13	marble	herm Bacchus	
	Via della Fortuna (or Casa del Fauno)	marble	herm Bacchus	
	Via della Fortuna	marble	clipeus bacchant and Bacchus	
	Via della Fortuna	marble	herm bachante	
	Via della Abbondanza	marble	herm bacchante	
	Apollo's temple or casa Citarista?	marble	herm Indian Bacchus	

	LOCATION	MATERIAL	SUBJECT	INV. NO.
	Apollo's temple or casa Citarista?	marble	herm Bacchus	
	VII 1,45?	marble	herm Ariadne	
	VII 1 ?	marble	herm Bacchus, head and feet	
	VII?	marble	herm Bacchus	
	VII?	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 109613
	VII?	marble	herm Bacchus, head and feet	MANN 120477, 120585
	I 4?	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 120448
	IX 1?	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 120452
	IX 1?	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 120469
	IX 1?	marble	herm Bacchus	MANN 109612
	VII 15?	marble	herm Ariadne	
	Pompeii	bronze	statuette child (Bacchus?)	MANN 5008
	Not known?	marble	table support, herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 12615
	Not known?	marble	table support, herm bearded Bacchus	MANN 6492
	Not known?	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	MANN
	Pompeii	marble	table support, herm child Bacchus	MANN 126254 (1167)
	Pompeii	marble	table support, herm youth Bacchus	MANN 126149
H1	Pompei, Sant'Abbondio	tufa	temple pediment	P
H2	Pompeii	tufa	stela (relief)	P 8660
H8	Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico	marble	oscillum	MANN 6651
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